DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 380 RC 010 568

AUTHOR	Byrne, D.; And Others
TITLE	Chicanos in Utah.
INSTITUTION	Utah State Board of Education, Salt Lake City.
SPONS AGENCY	Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jun 76
GRANT	SRS-08-P-57769/8-01
NOTE	97p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Utah State Board of Education, 250 East Fifth South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84111 ($1.25)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Acculturation; *Agency Role; *Attitudes; Cultural Factors; Culture Contact; Demography; Educational Background; Employment Patterns; Racism; Social Agencies; *Social Services; *Socioeconomic Background; *Spanish Speaking; Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	*Chicanos; *Utah

ABSTRACT

Demographic data on the Chicano in Utah and their position relative to various public agencies were gathered. Focus was on the number of Chicanos serving as staff in the agencies; to what degree the agencies served the Chicanos in meeting their needs for a self-sufficient life style; how the Spanish speaking perceived their needs and the ability of the agencies to serve them; and how the agencies perceived the Chicano clients. Four sets of factors were used to identify the imposition of internal colonialism on Chicanos: external administration; the group's mode of entry into the dominant society; cultural impact, an altering of colonized people's institutions; and racism. Data were obtained from social service agencies--family services, assistance payments, vocational rehabilitation, and employment security; and educational agencies--public elementary and secondary schools. Four regions were selected on the basis of 3 criteria: at least 1,000 Chicanos resided there; the region provided a geographic cross-section of the entire state; the region had a divergent economic base, thus allowing for a comparison of Chicanos in rural and in urban circumstances. Data were also obtained from 9 school districts, enrolling 64% of the state's Chicano students during 1972-73. Among the findings were that: the social service agency failed to help the Chicano client toward occupational stability and economic absorption and integration; only 6% of the agency staff were Spanish surnamed. (NQ)

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CHICANOS IN UTAH

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RC01 0568

This project was supported, in part, by SRS grant No. 08-P-57769/8-01 from the Social and Rehabilitation Services, under authority of P.L. Section 1110, SSA, as amended.

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PUBLISHED JUNE, 1976, BY
THE UTAH STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
250 EAST 5TH SOUTH
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84111
DR. WALTER TALBOT, SUPERINTENDENT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This monograph is a research utilization effort to disseminate the findings of a research study done at the University of Utah, funded by the Social and Rehabilitation Services of HEW. Maldonado, Byrne, Medina, and Rivera completed that study in 1974 entitled, "Chicanos in Utah: An Exploratory Study." The study gathered demographic data on the Chicano in Utah, and their position relative to various public agencies.

This monograph brings to the reader the efforts of the many people who have made it possible. The idea for the research was presented initially to Governor Rampton, who gave it his endorsement. The directors of the various departments and their staffs were very cooperative. These included: Dr. Walter Talbot, Superintendent of the State Board of Education, who encouraged the participation of thirteen school districts and then supported the printing of the monograph; Mr. Paul Rose, of the State Department of Social Services and the administrators of the following divisions: Mr. Evan Jones, Family Services; Mr. Roy Cooper, Assistance Payments; and Mr. Ernest Wright, Corrections. Also supporting the research were: Mr. Curtis Harding, Department of Employment Security; Dr. Harvey Hirschi, Division of Rehabilitation Services; and SOCIO, a Chicano community organization which was courtesy co-sponsor of the project.

For research to be of value, its findings have to be known. The forsight for the need for its dissemination came from Mr. Art Zamora, training officer for Region VIII. He together with Dr. James Dixon, the SRS project supervisor, encouraged the preparation of this monograph from the research findings, and then encouraged its publication. With their help a grant was received from SRS to produce the monograph.

Dr. Lionel A. Maldonado and Dr. David R. Byrne were the writers of the monograph. Their familiarity with the research and their writing ability gave this work its quality. Mr. T. Joe Sandoval wrote the preface and supervised the printing for the State Board of Education. Mr. Ted Lovato did the cover. The typing of the manuscript was done by Ms. Bernice Dominguez.

We are indebted to all the above, as we are to all those persons too numerous to mention, who helped to gather the data, those who responded to questionnaires, and to Dr. Luis Medina who made it all possible in the first place.

Orlando A. Rivera
Principal Investigator

PREFACE

Chicanos in Utah is based on a thorough study on the many problems faced by the Spanish speaking in the state. The study pinpoints specific areas in employment, family services, assistance payments and in education where problems exit.

The researchers were interested in determining how the agencies perceived the Chicano clients, and how the clients saw the agencies serving them.

The study focused on the number of Chicanos serving as staff in the agencies; to what degree the agencies served the Chicanos in meeting their needs for a self-sufficient life style; how the Spanish speaking perceived their needs and the ability of the agencies to serve them.

The research brings out poignant data concerning employment patterns, educational statistics, and the level of services made available to this ethnic group by the agencies described above.

Significant historical information is revealed about the Spanish speaking population residing in Utah. Noteworthy is the fact that the larger percent of the population are descendants of the earliest settlers in what is now the continental United States. The study shows that these citizens came from northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

The research revealed that the empirical descriptions of the Spanish speaking in an area where the population is relatively small, parallels findings where the population constitutes large numbers of Spanish-speaking persons.

The study illustrates that the social, economic, and educational plight of the Spanish speaking will not be alleviated as long as hiring practices exclude Chicanos from employment in key positions. The needs will not be met as long as staff is unconcerned about client needs, and as long as agencies are not committed to helping clients achieve self-sufficiency.

T. JOE SANDOVAL,
Assistant Superintendent
Utah State Board of Education

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Most informed Americans would agree that a large gap exists between the facts of American social life and our expressed egalitarian ideology. Regardless of rhetorical claims about a classless society, we have historically distributed wealth, power, and prestige inequitably across various social groups. One may say, with well documented accuracy, that certain ethnic minorities share less in those social goods than almost any other groups. This monograph focuses on one of those minorities, Americans of Mexican descent, who have been variously identified as Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Latin Americans, and many other names. In our work we opt for Chicano as the term to use. We do not wish to engage debate over its rightness; we use it because it has contemporary meaning and is commonly used.

Chicano authors and scholars recognize the second class nature of their group's existence in our society. Frequent reference to their people as strangers in their own land, as a forgotten people, or as a conquered nation find issue in the literature. In the last twenty years social scientists have validated the low social status of Chicanos. Almost all empirical discussions of Chicanos as a group repeat similar findings: low educational attainment and achievement, high incidence of poverty, little political or social power, and minimal improvement by virtue of social service agency impact.

It is a fact, as well, that most studies of Chicanos fall into two categories: (1) anthropological studies conducted in isolated rural areas of the southwest mostly done prior to 1940, and (2) studies conducted in the last twenty years in urban centers of the Southwest and California. Presently, little research exists which attempts

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to describe or explain the social condition of the Chicano in areas other than the five Southwestern states. In such areas where the Chicano population is small, compared to the rest of the Southwest, the Chicano truly has been forgotten, by layman and social scientist alike. What little study that has been done consists of unrelated atomistic parts, mostly done as University graduate students' research. These few pieces of work suggest many parallels to the social condition which obtains in areas of heavy Chicano population.

The Study

This study attempted to begin systematically filling this void of information about Chicanos. The report, then, should be viewed as a beginning of more such studies which focus upon the Chicano in areas outside of the Southwest Indeed, it is all too readily apparent that not all Chicanos are located in the five Southwestern states (cf. U.S. Population Characteristics, 1974).

Within the restrictions of limited resources, this study was modeled on the UCLA Mexican American Study Project, published under the title: **The Mexican Americans: The Nation's Second Largest Minority**, in 1970.

The initial task of the research team was to begin to delimit the social characteristics of the Chicanos being served by social service agencies. Thus, for the purpose of subject identification we restricted our population to Chicanos being served as clientele of Social Service Agencies of an intermountain state. More specifically data were collected in the following:

1. Social Service Agencies: family services, assistance payments, vocational rehabilitation and employment security.
2. Educational Agencies: public elementary schools and public secondary schools.

In each of the environmental subsets, certain quantitative and qualitative questions were identified as research priorities.

1. How many Chicanos could be identified as clients of the agency.
2. How many Chicanos serve as personnel of the agency.
3. To what degree does the agency serve the Chicanos in meeting their needs for a self-sufficient life style.

4. How does the Chicano perceive his need and how does he perceive the institutions' capacity to serve him.
5. How does the agency person perceive the Chicano and his service needs.

Theoretical Foundations

With respect to ethnic minorities in American society, the systematic social exclusion from a parity of society's goods has been explained with what is often called "an assimilation theory" or "a melting pot theory." Any theoretical explanation builds upon certain assumptions or in mathematics what are called "givens" in the situation. A set of explanatory theoretical postulates rests its validity on the authenticity of at least the following:

1. A social order of a fully egalitarian nature.
2. The notion of egalitarianism insists that social discrimination cannot exist on the basis of national origin, race, sex, or religion.
3. Opportunities for social, political, and economic mobility all are equally open to all citizens.
4. The relatively successful assimilation of immigrants from Europe has served as an examplar of the validity of this approach as a framework which can be used to explain the experiences of all other minority groups.

If one accepts these givens then he would hold that the following explain the second class citizenship of Mexican Americans (Barrera, **et al.,** 1972:479):

1. The situation of Chicanos is similar in most essential ways to that of European immigrants;
2. The Chicano's disadvantaged political, economic and social position is the result of factors inherent in Chicano culture and social organization; discrimination is viewed very often as a secondary factor;
3. Through assimilating—that is, taking on the culture and ways of behaving of Anglo society—Chicanos will be able to achieve equal status with other groups in the United States;
4. Individual mobility through education is a central mechanism in this process;
5. The process can be speeded up through organizing into pragmatic, instrumental political groups and engaging in

bargaining behavior for marginal gains (the politics of accommodation).

The facts of our society clearly refute this explanation. It is more accurate to accept the widespread social documentation that we live in an unegalitarian and racist society. And it has been those in control of social power who have steadfastly clung to the assimilationist perspective. The maintenance of this point of view has led to the popular phrase, "the myth of the melting pot." One possible explanation of this continuance could be that it has been a valid concept for the majority of citizens—those who were European imigrants—another may be that it helps many to rationalize the contradiction between a fervently defended ideology and quite contrary social facts.

The advent, in the last twenty years, of empirical documentation of racism which, as least intellectually, shatters the myth of the melting pot, pushed scholars of social phenomenon to pursue alternate models and paradigms that could more accurately explain social variance in America. One recently articulated heuristic scheme seems, in many ways, useful in the study of minority groups. This alternative view conceptualized the Chicano's situation in terms of an "internal colonialism" perspective.

The four sets of factors that may be seen to distinguish the internal colonialism complex are the following: external administration; the group's mode of entry to the dominant society; the resulting modification of the group's mode of entry to the dominant society; the resulting modification of the group's institutions; and racism. Each will be described below.

1. **The minority group's mode of entry into the dominant society:**

Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, realistically, cannot be said to have entered American society through some form of forced, involuntary process, as the internal colonial model seems to stress. However, the basic relationship between Chicanos and Anglos was formed in a context of conquest and take-over of land by the Anglos. The effects of this historical event have never been evaluated for the state where the research took place. Thus, one aspect of the present research focused upon the initial mode of introduction of Chicanos into the researched area. Such factors as the time of arrival (i.e., whether from Mexico or from other parts of the Southwest; whether from rural or urban regions; and

the history of settlement and migration within the state are explored).

2. **Cultural impact, an altering of colonized people's institutions:**

The colonizing power carries out a policy which constrains, transforms, or destroys indigenous values, orientations, and ways of life of the colonized group.

3. **External administration:**

The internal colonial model stresses the fact that administration of the colonized is carried out by representatives of the dominant society. There is an experience by the colonized of being managed and manipulated by outsiders, with little, or no self-determination. Consequently, our concern was to investigate the social agencies in terms of how effectively they function to aid the minority member in becoming a totally participating member in his own right within American society. Or, alternately, do these institutions function, by intent or by default, to ensure the continuation of the client's marginal status in society, where control of his own destiny is not in his own hands.

4. **Racism:**

The principle of social domination by which a group is seen as inferior or different in terms of alleged biological characteristics is here categorized under the general term of **racism.** This factor functions to justify social and psychic exploitation, control, and oppression by the superordinate group. Some of the components of this justifying mechanism are: fear, hatred, prejudice, assertion of racial superiority, and discrimination.

For present purposes, the interplay of these factors can be argued to be, potentially, the "causes" which may explain the social position of the Chicano population which was studied.

In adopting this theoretical stance in place of assimilationist perspective, certain advantages emerge. One is that an historical perspective is "built into" the internal colonialism model which more accurately portrays the manner in which the group was introduced into the dominant society. This may, or may not, have been done in utilizing the assimilationist perspective. However, by focusing directly on the group's mode of introduction to the dominant society, specific attention is paid to historical factors of

potential importance in explaining that group's present condition in the dominant society.

A second, and more important, advantage is that one begins to view the social position of those colonized as a result of social factors which are lodged in the larger society. This is in opposition to the point of view that the reasons for the colonized's low social position are inherent in their own particular culture. Thus, to focus on the Chicano as an example here, the degree and nature of his participation in Anglo society may be seen as enhanced, or blocked, by institutional forces and factors which are part of the larger society; his social position thus, is not a result of factors inherent in his own culture.

This point of view guided the thinking of the research team. Research questions were generated to explore the social condition of the Chicano in terms of the model of internal colonialism.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Two basic concerns guided the decision in identifying the population of Chicanos and agencies included in this research effort. One consideration was the administrative organization of the state's official human service agencies. The other concern was the geographic location of the state's Chicano population.

The social service agencies in the research site function administratively through a hierarchy extending down from the state to multi-county units which were the most appropriate for population identification. Furthermore, in selecting units as the focus of research attention, the following three criteria were applied.

1. any region was selected in which at least 1,000 Chicanos made their home.
2. enough regions were selected in order to provide a geographic cross-section of the entire state.
3. regions of divergent economic bases were selected in order to allow for a comparison of Chicanos in rural and in urban circumstances.

An analysis of the state's population distribution, provided by the state's Office of Economic Opportunity, allowed for the selection of four regions which met all three criteria. Table 1 presents the following:

TABLE I

Region Title	Counties*	Population
Region A	A I (R) A II (R) A III (R)	1,100
Region B	B I (R-U) B II (R) B III (R-S)	11,100
Region C	C I (U-S) C II (R)	23,000
Region D	D I (R) D II (R-U) D III (R)	1,500
Region E	E I (R) E II (R) E III (R) E IV (R)	2,500

*R=Rural
*S=Suburban
*U=Urban

1. the titles given by the researchers to the state's multi-county units which were included in the study:
2. the number of counties included in each unit;
3. the estimated Chicano population in each unit;
4. a designation of each county as rural, suburban, or urban.

The research was aimed, in large measure, at discovering something of character of the interaction between the Chicano and official social service agencies in the state. The agencies to be included in our definition of human (or social) service agencies are the following:

1. the department of social services
2. the state's employment system
3. the state's public educational system

The department of social service closely approximates the multi-county regions outlined in Table 1. Education and employment, on the other hand, transcend those boundaries. Local repre-

sentative offices of these latter two agencies were thus selected in order to parallel the areas constituting the multi-county regions.

Samples and Data Sources

Education was identified as a separate entity from the other social service agencies for sampling purposes. The data collection techniques employed here vary somewhat and for this reason are presented separately and in greater detail.

Information was obtained from the State Department of Public Instruction regarding some basic knowledge of the size and geographic distribution of the Chicano students. There were 11,879 Chicano students in the state's schools in the 1972-73 school year. These students were enrolled in thirty-four of the state's forty school districts.

The school districts eligible, by definition, for inclusion in the study were identified. Fifteen of the state's school districts met the criteria established by the researchers. Fully ninety-seven percent of all Chicano students in the state were enrolled in these fifteen districts. Each of these fifteen districts was contacted by a letter requesting permission to conduct a portion of the study in their schools. Each request explained the research project and its purposes, and was accompanied by a letter from the State Superintendent of Schools, endorsing the project. Ten days after the mailing, each district was contacted by phone. Two weeks later, all districts responded with a decision regarding permission to carry out the research. Of the fifteen school districts, nine agreed to participate. Of the six which refused, two had large Chicano populations and four had small populations. The nine participating school districts enrolled fully 64% of the Chicano students in the state for one academic year 1972-73.

Two criteria were utilized to identify the student populations in each of the nine study districts.

1. they must have a Spanish surname; a 1970 Spanish surname list from the U.S. Census Bureau was used for identification.
2. they must have undergone either standardized achievement or I.Q. testing as part of a district program within one year of the beginning of this study.

Each district provided a roster of students who had been tested during either the 1971-72 or the early part of the 1972-73

school years. From these lists, a total sampling frame of Spanish surnamed students was constructed for each of the nine study districts. Within those districts where there were less than one thousand Chicano students, the total frame became the sample. In those districts where there were more than one thousand students, a fifty percent random sample was selected from the roster.

The data which were collected on students can be categorized as representing the following areas: personal, school performance, and family characteristics.

Data also were collected from the educators. Here, the concern was to assess how educators define the Chicano students' educational situation and needs. A random sample of relevant educational personnel in the nine study districts was selected and mailed a questionnaire. The response rate of this mailed questionnaire was about 65 percent.

Data from the other social service agencies were gathered in the following manner. Here, the data which were collected were of the Chicano clients on the rolls of the selected agencies in 1973. Data also were collected on the personnel of the agencies. In this instance, three separate groups were identified: first line personnel who deal on a day-to-day basis with Chicano clients; regional directors who function at the multi-county level; and state directors who oversee the entire operation of specific agencies for the state.

Two of the human service agencies provided full access to their records. One was the Vocational Rehabilitation Agency, the other the state's employment system, Employment Security. The latter, it will be recalled, transcended the boundaries of the multi-county regions utilized in the first phase of the sampling procedure. Thus, the data which was received constitutes all the Spanish surnamed individuals in the entire state who are on this agency's rolls for 1973. Vocational Rehabilitation also provided the records of all the Spanish surnamed clients on their rolls.

Correctional institutions provided a limited amount of information from their records. This was in the form of access to inmates at the state's correctional facility. But the fact that these potential respondents all were inmates at the prison led to an almost total lack of cooperation on their part with regard to our research effort.

Family Service/Assistance Payments provided the researchers only the names and addresses of the Spanish surnamed clients on

their rolls in multi-county regions. A random sampling of these individuals then was conducted. The questionnaire which was developed for these purposes was lengthy and broad-based. This contained items on demographic characteristics, as well as social-psychological questions which explored perceptions about agencies. This is designated as the **Community** sample for identification purposes.

Table 2 presents the various samples which constitute the basis of the study. The Corrections sample is included merely

TABLE 2
STUDY SAMPLES, BY AGENCY AND SEX
(Reported in Percentages)

	Male	Female	N.C.*
Agency Staff			
First line personnel	61	35	04
	(139)	(79)	(10)
Regional directors	75	03	22
	(27)	(01)	(08)
State directors	100	00	00
	(06)	(00)	(00)
Agency Clients			
Employment Security	61	39	00
	(1092)	(690)	(01)
Vocational Rehabilitation	69	31	00
	(328)	(145)	(02)
Corrections	83	18	00
	(160)	(34)	(00)
Education			
Primary	49	51	00
(654)	(321)	(333)	(00)
Secondary	50	50	00
(940)	(798)	(796)	(00)
Educators	62	33	05
(129)	(80)	(43)	(06)
Community	39	60	01
	(167)	(260)	(06)

*N.C. stands for "not classifiable". This generally resulted from the specific information being omitted on the data collection instrument.

to indicate to the reader the potential bias from the recalcitrants. The table presents a classification of the samples by the agency to which clients belong and is according to the sex of these individuals.

Data were gathered in a variety of forms. One form consisted of agency records which are filled in by the personnel on the clients. These agency records contain a wealth of background and demographic characteristics. The disposition of each case is listed on the agency form.

The agency personnel—regional directors and first-line personnel were given a relatively structured questionnaire. The questionnaire instructed them to fill in standard background characteristics and to respond to a series of attitudinal and values items with regard to Chicanos and policies toward them an agency such as theirs might adopt.

The state level directors were requested to fill in a highly open-ended questionnaire. The purpose of this unstructured instrument was to provide a greater opportunity to gain insight about the direction which the social service agencies might take, regarding their relations with Chicano clients.

The questionnaires to all the staff members were mailed to them. Those who failed to respond to the first mailing were sent a second questionnaire. Those not responding to these two waves were contacted by telephone whenever possible to request their cooperation with the research. The response rate from both regional and state-level directors was one hundred percent; from first-line staff, it was slightly better than fifty percent. There is reason to believe the non-respondents of this latter group tended to be concentrated among those with the greater tenure at the agency.

Another form in which data were gathered was the lengthy and broad-based Community questionnaire. This contained items pertaining to the respondent's background characteristics, and his perceptions and evaluations of the services received by Chicanos from the various social service agencies.

It may have been that the research instrument for the Community sample was too long and exhausting. This is a result of the failure to adequately pre-test the instrument.

The disadvantage of the Community survey questionnaire partially was offset in that local community representative from the

locales of the data collection were recruited and trained as interviewers. These interviewers generally were well-known in their areas of data collection. Their ability to establish good rapport thus enhanced the cooperation by the respondents.

The following approach to the collection of data from the Community sample was used. The Principal Investigator toured the state in order to attend chapter meetings of the various groups identified as grass roots social organizations attempting to better the social condition of the Chicano in Utah. At these meetings, an effort was made to present the research attempt as one of collecting basic information, both demographic and attitudinal, of Chicanos. This information would be made available to the agencies and the respondents in an effort to improve services to Chicanos. The support of these grass-roots organizations significantly helped the research effort gain the acceptance of the members of the various areas of the state where data were gathered.

Summary and Conclusion

The data which were gathered on clients and on agencies seek to be representative of the Chicanos and human service organizations which serve them. Data about Chicanos who are served by two state-wide agencies, Vocational Rehabilitation and the employment system, represent their total enumeration. These findings, therefore, can be said to be fully reliable and valid. The school districts surveyed incorporate nearly two-thirds of the state's Chicano students. Here, too, the data are fairly representative. A third agency, dealing more strictly with the welfare aspects of the human services, is more restrictive. This is a random sample of Chicanos receiving the agency's benefits. And, in terms of generalizability, this sample of Chicano clients may be the more restrictive. Still, it is geographically valid and, within each multi-county unit, weighted in accord with the Chicano population's distribution.

The data on agency personnel are more problematic. The personnel who deal on a daily basis with Chicano clients, as well as school teachers and principals, provided only slightly better than a fifty percent response. Moreover, there is reason to suspect that non-respondents tend to be concentrated among the more tenured personnel. These offer serious limitations to the generalizability of these data. These limitations are discussed more fully with the presentation of the staff's responses.

AGENCY CLIENTS: RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION

Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the success of one particular social service agency in its services to Chicanos. The analysis of this particular agency has implications broader than the one case, however. The concerns addressed here relate to the success of any social organization to which minority members must look for help. It is in this regard that the queries and findings reported here may be generalized beyond the particular case of one social service agency.

The stated goal of the agency under present consideration is to help its clientele toward occupational stability and success. We shall discuss in some detail the occupational backgrounds of those clients who seek to avail themselves of the services of the agency. In addition, we will explore the history of occupational stability among the clients, as well as presenting some information on the reasons for any noted instability. These considerations set the stage for a study of the relationship between occupational histories of the clients and the hopes they hold for their world of work as a result of the aid of the agency. The study of this relationship is a direct test of the claims of the agency as being helpful in attaining occupational stability and success.

In another section of this chapter, we explore the tie between educational attainments and occupational placement of the clients. This may be seen as an effort to consider if factors other than the social service agency's practices offer reasonable explanations to the client's occupational placement.

The examination of these questions focuses directly on the explanatory power of assimilationist propositions. This perspective,

it will be recalled, places great emphasis on education as a mechanism for social mobility and enhancement. We test that notion very directly. The strength of the assimilationist perspective seriously is limited if educational attainments account very little in the occupational placement of Chicanos.

The data reported here are of all Spanish surnamed individuals on the rolls of the surveyed agency for the year 1973 (N= 1783). The data are taken from the agency's records.

Findings

Table One presents the occupational background of the clients of the surveyed agency. This Table suggests a history quite remarkable in its skew toward the lower end of the occupational distribution.

A large percentage (40%) of the clients are classified as "ineligible" due to the fact they are just entering the labor market and have no occupational histories to report. This explanation is suggested by the fact that the mean age of the clients is 27 years and the standard deviation is 11.3 years. Thus, a significant number of respondents are barely out of the formal educational institution.

TABLE ONE

Occupational Data of Chicanos on Agency Rolls
(Reported in Percentages)

	Ineligible	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Skilled
Last Significant Job Held (1783)	40	23	18	06
Job Sought (1783)	05	46	21	06

However, along with this group only entering the labor market, an additional 47% were in skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled jobs prior to coming to the agency. Thus, nearly 90% of the Chicanos listed with this agency have either no occupational histories or are prominent in the least rewarding, the most unstable occupational categories of an industrial economy.

Table One also lists the occupations the Chicano clients are aspiring to attain, presumably with the help of the agency. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of the Chicanos are seeking no better than a skilled occupation. Indeed, closer to the truth of the matter is that only 6% of the Chicanos are claiming such aspirations. The largest majority, 46%, are seeking unskilled jobs: another 21% seem to be partial to semi-skilled occupational tasks. Thus, at first glance it would appear that Chicanos are returning to jobs very much like those they held. Table Two provides a clue to the possibility of occupational stability if the clients return to their former modes of work.

Table Two indicates some of the reasons for the occupational instability of the low-level jobs held by Chicanos. This table is of those who had previous employment (N=1068). The reasons range from personal failure on the part of the client to those lodged in the economic structure. Table Two provides overwhelming evidence that the occupational instability of Chicanos is due to factors external to them, reasons which are inherent in the industrial realm. This is, in practically all of the job categories listed in this Table, the primary reason for job loss is that of technological lay-offs. The next most prevalent reason is a reduction of the work force. These two reasons, combined, account for nearly three-quarters of all job losses in each of the Table's occupational categories. There is clear evidence that personal failings of the Chicanos are insignificant as explanations of occupational instability; rather the causes result directly from factors inherent in the development of the economy.

The data presented thus far clearly demonstrate several points. Those who try to utilize the benefits of the social service agency are in the lower reaches of the occupational world. These individuals are in the kind of jobs which are declared obsolete most readily, as the world of work technically progresses.

Table Three indicates several additional points. There are some important distinctions between men and women with regard to work. Chicano males numerically are insignificant in white collar and in related small business modes of work. Women are practically not represented in small business and skilled jobs.

Table Three also explores the relationship between the type of job held and that to which Chicanos aspire for each sex. Occupational aspirations here are seen as a function of occupational background.

TABLE TWO

REASONS FOR JOB LOSS, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY
(Reported in percentages)

	Small Business (39)	White Collar (174)	Skilled (116)	Semi Skilled (326)	Unskilled (413)
To Accept Other Employment (36)	00	01	04	05	03
To Attend School (51)	05	04	04	02	07
To Leave Area (94)	10	09	06	10	09
Failure to Report For Work (10)	00	01	00	01	01
Illness or Pregnant (39)	03	07	04	03	03
To Marry or Assume Household Duties (15)	03	02	00	03	01
Discharge, Misconduct (8)	00	00	03	01	01
Temporary Layoff (39)	03	04	05	04	03
Reduction of Work Force (342)	36	28	27	31	36
Technological Layoff (434)	41	45	47	41	37

Percentage totals may not add to 100 due to rounding error.

TABLE THREE

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, BY OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENTS, FOR EACH SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

	Last Significant Job									
	Small Business		White Collar		Skilled		Semi-Skilled		Unskilled	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Occupational Aspirations	(19)	(3)	(39)	(135)	(104)	(11)	(203)	(122)	(314)	(89)
Small Business	68	100	05	01	02	00	02	00	01	01
White Collar	21	00	62	91	03	09	04	14	02	17
Skilled	00	00	03	00	66	64	06	01	02	00
Semi-Skilled	05	00	15	06	18	27	62	78	13	16
Unskilled	05	00	15	02	11	00	27	07	82	66

The major conclusion from this Table is that a person's former occupation is a strong predictor of his/her aspirations for future employment. That is, within each of the listed occupational categories, nearly two-thirds of the Chicanos sought to return to the kind of work they held before. In some instances, the proportions are much higher than two out of three: 78% of the females in semi-skilled tasks planned to find placement in jobs like those lost; 82% of the males in unskilled jobs planned to return to like tasks; 91% of the females in white collar work aspired to re-enter that mode of employment.

In those instances where there is a suggestion of a desire for occupational mobility, and the number of cases is large enough for statistical stability, we note a curious pattern. Males seem more prone toward greater **downward** mobility. Nearly one-third (29%) of the males from skilled occupational backgrounds claimed to want semi-skilled or unskilled work. Fully 27% of those from semi-skilled origins were seeking unskilled tasks. Females aspiring to alternative occupational levels, in contrast to males so disposed, opted for **upward** mobility (see Table Three).

The data from Tables Two and Three suggest a rather dismal picture of Chicanos on the agency's rolls. These are individuals who typically are on the fringes of the occupational structure. Their jobs generally are rendered obsolete through the technological changes introduced into the world of work. They find their way to that agency which professes assistance in gaining occupational stability and success. However, for whatever the reasons, they seem to find themselves aspiring to the same kind of unstable jobs which they lost largely for reasons beyond their control. In sum, therefore, for these Chicanos the central activity of life—one's work—appears to be fated to the lower end of the spectrum. Agencies designed to change this situation appear inept in their mission.

Let us leave these conclusions in a tentative state while we explore one possible explanation for the low occupational placement and aspirations of Chicanos.

It is an empirical observation widely supported that there exists in the general population a strong positive relationship between one's educational accomplishments and his occupational attainments. That is, the greater the amount of education a person has received, the more prestigious and economically rewarding the

occupational position inhabited. Thus, many have argued that one way for minority group members to advance in society is through increased educational attainment. Table Four presents the Chicano clients' occupational histories as a function of the educational level they have attained. This Table forces a serious qualification to the general relationship expected between education and occupation.

It is noted from Table Four that major proportions of the Chicanos who have not completed high school have found themselves relegated to the least rewarding occupational levels. More specifically, 78% of those with some high school training, 82% with from seven to nine years' education, and 90% with less than seven years of formal schooling have been employed primarily in semi-skilled and skilled occupations (see Table Four). Thus, for these Chicanos the proposition holds only too strongly that limited educational attainments lead to occupations characterized by their economic marginality.

TABLE FOUR

OCCUPATION HELD BY EDUCATION
(Reported in Percentages)

	EDUCATION				
	Some College (91)	High School Graduate (353)	Partial High School (314)	7 - 9 Years (190)	Less Than 7 Years (92)
Occupational Background					
Small Business (22)	14	01	00	02	00
White Collar (174)	29	27	13	05	02
Skilled (115)	17	12	09	11	09
Semi-Skilled (324)	24	35	31	35	19
Unskilled (405)	17	26	47	47	71

And of those with a high school diploma, we note that nearly two-thirds (61%) have reported semi-skilled and skilled occupational histories. A mere 12% of these high school graduates have held skilled trades. Only about one-quarter (27%) lay claim to

white collar occupations. Thus, one conclusion which is forced by the data is that a high school diploma has opened some doors with regard to occupational placement at some level above those most marginal in the occupational structure. It is not, however, the strong relationship, among Chicanos, that one would expect.

The group of Chicanos who have been exposed to some post-secondary education hardly fare better in the occupational arena than their more poorly educated brethren. The percentage distribution with this group is remarkable for its near symmetry. That is, nearly as many of the Chicanos with some college background have been in white collar and related occupations (43%) as in semi-skilled and skilled jobs (41%)! In sum, therefore, the predictive efficiency of a college experience among these Chicanos for getting a "good job" effectively is zero. Chicanos with some post secondary experience are as likely to have been in unskilled and semi-skilled as in white collar jobs.

The predictive efficiency of education increases as one descends the attainment ladder: Chicanos with modest levels of educational attainments overwhelmingly are in economically marginal work categories. These findings, therefore, severely modify the general proposition that education alone is the mechanism for social mobility. Rather, it is only the negative aspects of this relationship which hold for Chicanos on whom data were collected: lesser educational attainments lead to highly restricted occupational opportunities. Among those with greater educational accomplishments, there are no clear and consistent findings which would even suggest that the benefits of those attainments are translated into occupational betterment. In short, the proposition which holds for the general population degenerates to a cruel myth for the Chicanos in this study. These findings are of some consequences in calling into serious question the assimilationist tenet that education serves as a mechanism for social betterment.

In the next chapter, we shall make an effort to present an argument which may help set in context the findings presented thus far. In the following chapter, some of the values and attitudes of agency staff about Chicanos are explored. They seem viable factors to be taken into account in illuminating some of the findings presented in the present chapter. They suggest that propositions from the internal colonialism perspective may help account for an agency's ineptness in helping the Chicano client attain occupational stability and absorption into the economic mainstream of society.

AGENCY PERSONNEL

Introduction

The foregoing chapter crisply illustrated the failing of the social service agency in helping the Chicano client toward occupational stability and economic absorption and integration. The notion was explored that some personal characteristics of the Chicano might have a medium of explanatory power in accounting for the lack of occupational stability and security. This was rejected on the basis of fact. That is, the extent or amount of education attained by Chicanos failed to be a reliable predicator of occupational attainments. Likewise, fault for job loss tended to be beyond the personal control of the Chicano—technological changes and reduction of the labor force were chiefly the causes of occupational displacement.

The type of occupational aspirations that clients indicated on official agency records suggest a strong likelihood of continued occupational marginality by Chicanos. That is, there seemed to be a strong tie between the type of job lost and that being sought. These findings force the question regarding the part played by agency staff in helping or hindering the Chicano toward occupational stability and economic absorption into the community. A partial explanation to this query may be found in the value structure of the agency staff. It is to this matter that the present chapter is addressed.

Theoretical Orientation

There are two general approaches to the study of the results of occupational circumstances on values and attitudes. These two contrasting perspectives are (1) the social class and (2) the occupa-

tional culture explanations to the variations in values and attitudes (Meyer, Litwak, and Warren, 1968).

The first, or social class, perspective posits that occupations are but one aspect of the social class system. As component parts of this class system, individuals of given occupational categories, irrespective of specific occupations, are expected to share in common a set of values and behavior patterns. Members of these occupational categories, moreover, are expected to differ in distinctive ways from persons of other classes.

In contrast is the explanation which takes specific occupations, rather than classes of such, as explaining the differences in values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. Studies of occupational culture—teachers, medical students, social workers, automobile workers, exemplify this perspective.

The present chapter will incorporate aspects of both approaches. The thrust will be to explain the recruitment into the retention of personnel of the surveyed agencies. Analysis will be focused upon those staff who deal on a daily basis with the Chicano clientele, the state's largest minority. It will be demonstrated that various other components of the individuals' social class origins play an important part in determining recruitment into the social service agencies. Information also will be presented which suggests a trend toward greater homogeneity of values and attitudes toward Chicanos, resulting from greater length of service with an agency.

Values and Attitudes

Part of the data collected from the agencies' staff dealt with their attitudes toward various policies an agency, such as theirs, might advocate with regard to its Chicano clientele. Staff were asked to rank-order, from most to least favorable, their preferences for four alternative philosophies and policies. They also were asked to indicate how they believed their fellow workers or peers, their supervisors, Chicano clients, and Chicano leaders might evaluate the different philosophies. These four philosophical stances are presented here in an abbreviated form, and are from Arciniega and Brishchetto (1972).

A: Noble Poor. A part of this stance is the suggestion that the Chicanos' self perception and evaluation basically is a positive one. This philosophy argues that the Chicano's life style is

caused and directed by factors inherent in his distinct cultural heritage. This combination of how Chicanos feel about themselves and about their culture leads to an interpretation of the position as that of the "noble poor". Agencies, according to this stance, need only to offer condescending support of the Chicanos and their culture.

B: The Pathological. This philosophy states that the Chicanos' present life style is caused by factors inherent in his culture. The difference between the pathological and the noble poor perspectives is the definition given to the life style by Chicanos. Among the pathological, the Chicano defines his life style in a negative fashion; this has consequences in that he works out the negative self portrait through "destructive" behaviors. The task of the agency in this situation, therefore, is to provide compensatory programs to help Chicanos purge themselves of these cultural deficiencies. The ultimate goal of these compensatory programs is the assimilation of the reformulated Chicanos into the dominant cultural mainstream.

C: The "Coper". This point of view suggests that the present social situation of the Chicanos is a result of factors imposed externally, by arrangements of the larger society. However, the individual evaluates himself positively, his culture is one of flexibility. This combination, of a positive self evaluation and of adaptive culture, arms the Chicano with the ability to cope with his situation with a minimum of stress. The agency's goal, in turn, should be one that advocates and supports this accommodation by the Chicano.

D: Colonialism. This last position reflects the notion that Chicanos' social situation is a direct result of factors beyond their control, inherent in the social arrangement of the dominant society. This condition is given a negative evaluation by the Chicano and, moreover, calls for some radical action to ameliorate the situation. Here, the role of the social service agency should be restructured in order that Chicanos can participate fully and equally from positions of power in the society.

Findings

Table 1 presents the proportions on the agencies' staff who are Chicanos. The table also lists the percentages of those in the sample who have some command of the Spanish language.

TABLE 1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF AGENCY STAFF

(Reported in Percentages)

Spanish Surname	
Yes (13)	06
No (206)	94
Spanish Language Ability	
Fluent (14)	06
Not Fluent (38)	17
No Ability (167)	76

Note: The figure in parentheses are the number of respondents within each category. The sample size is 230 respondents. However, within some categories, numerical totals may be less than the sample size. This is due to the fact that the information was not provided on the questionnaire by the respondent.

It is readily acknowledged that Spanish surname is a rather biased measurement of ethnicity. It is used here merely for illustrative purposes, as an approximate indicator of how representative the staff is of a major segment of its constituent clientele. The table clearly illustrates the lack of Chicanos as staff who would work on a daily basis with Chicano clients: only 6% of the staff have a Spanish surname.

Table 1 also illustrates that few on the agencies' staff can speak Spanish. Better than three-fourths (76%) of the staff do not speak Spanish. Seventeen percent have a restricted ability to converse in Spanish.

This first table illustrates that the agencies do not have on their staff many representatives of the state's largest minority group, Chicanos. Table 2, on the other hand, does present some indication of the social origins of the staff.

TABLE 2
STAFF'S MOST DESIRED PHILOSOPHY, BY SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF STAFF
(Reported in Percentages)

	PHILOSOPHIES			
Selected Characteristics	A	B	C	D
SEX				
Male (132)	08	27	56	08
Female (74)	10	15	65	10
RELIGION				
LDS (150)	06	27	61	05
Other (43)	16	16	49	16
EDUCATION				
Graduate Work (87)	09	23	61	07
Standard College Degree or Less (119)	08	23	58	09

Note: The percentages are to be read across. They may not total to one hundred due to rounding error. The sample size is 230 respondents. However, within some categories, numerical totals may be less than the sample size. This is due to the fact that this information was not filled in by the respondent on the questionnaire.

Table 2 presents selected social class characteristics of the staff who work on the surveyed agencies. An overview of this table suggests a decided bias in the selection of the personnel to staff the agencies. Nearly two-thirds of the sample are males; better than three-quarters are of the state's dominant religious group: Mormon or Latter-Day Saints; four out of ten are college graduates who have gone on for graduate training. Among those without graduate work (57% of the sample), fully 75% have the standard university degree. Thus, of the total sample, only 15% have less than four years of college. In sum, therefore,

it seems reasonable to argue that the social background of the personnel is relatively homogeneous: mostly males, of one religious affiliation, reasonably well educated, and non-Chicano.

Table 2 also presents the relationship between the various social background characteristics and the staffs attitudes toward the four alternative philosophies sketched above. It is noteworthy that, irrespective of the respondents' educational attainments, there is little difference in terms of which philosophical stance overwhelmingly is considered most favorable. Staff who have post-grade training are as likely as those of lesser education attainments to favor the notion of Chicanos as "copers"—61% and 58", respectively.

The point of view which typified Chicanos as pathological, with its concomitant theme that the task of the agency is to help purge these dysfunctional traits, is the second most popular response category. Again irrespective of educational attainments, 23% of the respondents at each level rate this philosophy as the most desirable perspective on Chicanos and agency response to them.

The respondents' religious affiliation hardly seems worth exploring in great depth; indeed, this is more akin to a constant than to a variable. Better than three quarters of the staff are Latter-Day Saints (LDS). Of this group, fully 61% favor the "coper" explanation of the state's largest minority. The non-LDS, while numerically small and therefore statistically unstable, similarly array themselves. The second most popular explanation of Chicanos, their situation, and the possible agency response is that of "pathological".

It has been pointed out that nearly two-thirds of the respondents who work on a daily basis with Chicano clients are male. However, among both males and females, the most favored philosophies are the same as when we considered educational attainments and religion: "copers" the overwhelming first choice and the pathological a distant second. More specifically, 56% of the males and 65% of the females chose the explanation which views the aims of social service agencies to be that of further helping the Chicano accommodate himself to present social arrangements. As many as 27% of the male staff, and 15% of the females, seem convinced their agency's role is to help "weed out" unfavorable cultural elements among their Chicano clientele (the pathological explanation).

It is of some interest to note that the two remaining notions, of Chicanos as noble poor or as colonized people, received nearly full rejection. This is the case no matter how one classified the respondents—by sex, religion, or education.

Table 3 shifts the emphasis. This table presents the staffs' personal evaluations and their perceptions of how their peers and supervisors would view the four distinct philosophies that an agency might adopt in formulating programs for Chicanos. This is considered in terms of the members' tenure with the agency.

It is clear from Table 3 that about six out of ten staff members, irrespective of the length of time they have been with an agency, personally prefer to consider Chicanos as "copers", and that this

TABLE 3

STAFF'S PERCEPTION OF **MOST** DESIRED PHILOSOPHY AMONG AGENCY PERSONNEL BY STAFF'S LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB
(Reported in Percentages)

	PHILOSOPHIES			
	A	B	C	D
Length of Time at Present Position				
Less Than 2 Years (78)				
Self	06	16	60	03
Peers	05	35	49	08
Supervisors	03	38	48	08
2 to 4 Years (72)				
Self	11	25	60	03
Peers	14	33	49	01
Supervisors	11	37	47	01
4 or More Years (59)				
Self	07	29	58	05
Peers	05	34	55	02
Supervisors	07	34	56	03

should be a policy reasonable to adopt. The proportion so reporting drops only insignificantly among those in the greatest tenure category, i.e., those more than four years with an agency.

If we compare the staff's self evaluation with how they rate their fellow workers, we note some interesting facts. In the early years of service with an agency, there is a significant disparity between the staffs' self evaluations and those for their fellow workers. For example, among those who have worked at their jobs less than two years, fully 60% adhere to the notion of Chicanos as "copers". This is in marked contrast to the 49% who believe their fellow workers are similarly disposed. The perception about their supervisors is identical: only 48% feel them to be like themselves with regard to Chicanos.

These trends are paralleled among the next tenure group, those who have been at their positions from two to four years. It is only among those with the longest service in the agency that one notices a change.

Those with four, or more, years at their jobs report the greatest kinship between themselves and their peers and supervisors with regard to how they perceive Chicanos. That is, 58% report their preference to be for the "coper" explanation. This is very nearly matched by the fact that nearly as many, 56% believe their peers to be so inclined. Fifty-six percent hold that their supervisors support this same position.

Thus far, it has been reported that there is a seeming stability among the proportion of staff with regard to perceiving Chicanos as "copers", no matter the length of service with an agency. There is also the trend that, along with increased tenure, staff begin to perceive themselves, their peers, and their supervisors as being in agreement in that perception. Table 3 reveals still another trend.

Table 3 illustrates that the longer a person is with an agency, the greater is the likelihood that he will endorse the pathological explanation. Compare individuals' self evaluations for each of the tenure groups. Among those with less than two years of service, 16% opt to view Chicanos in a pathological light; the proportion is nearly doubled, to 29%, among those with four, or more, years on the job. Here, again, we note the convergence of perceptions about one's self, his peers, and his supervisor. That is, as one's length of service increases, the proportions become more nearly equal of who believe their fellow travellers are in

agreement with them. It is only among the most junior staff members that one notes a wide disparity from their evaluations and those attributed to their fellow workers.

The staff of the agencies have distinct evaluations about their counterparts and superiors in regard to the four alternative philosophies. They also have notions how these might differ among Chicanos.

Table 4 presents the staff members' beliefs of the **least** favorable characterizations, as they believe Chicano clients and leaders would rank the four philosophies. Overwhelmingly, staff believe that Chicanos, both client and leader, consider least palatable that which typifies them as pathological. Yet, it is this very same perspective which seems to gain adherents among staff as their service with an agency increases. It is also the point of view attributed to peers and supervisors in some rather significant proportions (see Table 4).

TABLE 4

STAFF'S PERCEPTION OF LEAST DESIRED PHILOSOPHY AMONG CHICANO CLIENTS AND LEADERS BY STAFF'S LENGTH OF TIME ON THE JOB
(Reported in Percentages)

	PHILOSOPHIES			
	A	B	C	D
Staff's Length of Time at Present Position				
Less Than 2 Years (78)				
Clients	04	65	08	19
Leaders	03	78	08	08
2 - 4 Years (70)				
Clients	07	69	07	14
Leaders	01	76	07	11
4 or More Years (58)				
Clients	21	44	04	28
Leaders	14	57	09	14

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has presented some information regarding the type of personnel who staff social service agencies. Data from selected social service agencies illustrated a decided bias in the recruitment process. Those who work on a daily basis with Chicanos socially are relatively homogeneous: mostly males, of one religious affiliation (LDS), and fairly well educated. In spite of the fact that Chicanos are the state's largest minority and sizeable proportion of those being served by the agencies, an insignificant minority of the staff are Chicanos. Very few of the staff even speak Spanish.

These socially undiversified staff members seem as unified in their values and attitudes regarding explanations of Chicanos and the role of social service agencies. The response most frequently preferred is that Chicanos are "copers" and that agencies should support this point of view which stresses accommodation by Chicanos to prevailing social conditions. A distant second choice is the pathological explanation. These are consistent findings, regardless of how one classifies staff: by sex, by religion, or by educational attainments. These findings, therefore, support the social class explanation which posits a commonality of values and attitudes among its membership.

When these values and attitudes were explored from a developmental perspective, additional insight was gained. One, there is a seeming stability among staff with regard to perceiving Chicanos as "copers", no matter the length of service with an agency. Two, along with this stability of belief is the fact that staff report themselves, their peers, and their supervisors in agreement regarding that perception, the longer they are with the agency. This is manifestly different from the fact that newcomers believe themselves quite divergent from their peers and supervisors.

Third, a concomitant of increasing tenure is the greater likelihood to endorse the pathological explanation. Four, staff are fully aware that their increasing tendency to label Chicanos as pathological is an explanation very likely to be abhorred by the Chicano leaders and clients.

It is quite likely that the strength of the findings reported here are somewhat diminished by the lower response rate among the more senior staff members. If this is the case, then the conservative nature and narrowness of personnel is greater than is here reported.

These findings support the general principle which posits the development of a common value system within organizations. This is begun with the initial selection of members to staff these organizations, who are alike in background and in beliefs. Continued membership in the organization further shapes and channels these beliefs and values into greater uniformity.

In addition to shedding some light on the effect of tenure on the convergence of values and attitudes among an organization's members, the findings clearly suggest an answer to the original query. Here, the values and beliefs of the personnel have been demonstrated to favor a **status quo** approach as the role an agency should play regarding the Chicano clientele. The overwhelming preference among the organizations' members for the "coper" perspective argues persuasively for this explanation. The fact that length of service with the organization does not result in a smaller proportion advocating this "coper" explanation is also added support for the conservative explanation. The increasing proportion who over time, opt for the "pathological" point of view further supports the conclusion that the values preferences of staff clearly influence the type of counsel about future employment given to Chicano clients. In short, it appears a sound conclusion from the findings reported in the present and foregoing chapters that Chicanos apparently are "encouraged" to aspire to occupational positions which ensure a cycle of marginal employment followed by technological displacement, then agency assistance, and back to marginal employment. The opportunity for occupational stability, obviously, is less than optimal under such conditions. This lack of occupational stability and security leads directly to a continued marginal status in the larger society. It can be argued forcefully that economic absorption and integration rest upon one's occupational success. The performance of the agencies seems to be to block this occurrence. These findings, furthermore, continue to add support for the internal colonialism scheme as means of adequately typifying the social condition of Chicanos.

AGENCY CLIENTS: THEIR PERSPECTIVES ON SERVICE AGENCIES

Introduction

The foregoing chapters have focused upon various aspects of the functioning of public service bureaucracies. One chapter highlighted rather dramatically the general failing of the social service agency in attaining its stated goals of helping the Chicano client attain occupational stability and security. These twin goals, it is assumed, lead to absorption into the mainstream of the economy.

The next chapter illustrated the role of the public agency's staff. Here, the staff's values and attitudes were shown to play a significant part in the explanation of the failure of the agency in attaining its goals. The findings of both those chapters offered support for the general theoretical scheme of internal colonialism. This scheme, it is argued, accounts for the present social condition of Chicanos.

In the present chapter, we shall focus again on Chicano clients. In this instance, attention will be directed to the perceptions Chicano clients have of the human service bureaucracy. We shall explore the extent to which there is concordance between the perceptions of Chicanos and the performance of the agency.

That data from which this analysis is drawn are from a statewide sample of Chicano clients. The names of the clients were taken from the rolls of the state's welfare agency. Chapter Two, on the methodology of the study, details various aspects of this sample.

Findings

Table One begins the discussion. This Table explores, according to the Chicano's educational level, how they evaluate the notion

of receiving social agency services and benefits. The Table also indicates their beliefs of how deserving are those who make use of these services. The vast majority of Chicanos are in concert with the statement that human welfare benefits from agencies are a right, as opposed to their being a charity. Furthermore, this is a consistent empirical observation, irrespective of the Chicano's educational attainments. That is, those with some college experience are as likely as those with modest educational attainments to hold this belief on the right to benefits from human services organizations.

Most Chicanos hold that those who avail themselves of the agency benefits, are deserving of such. That is, there is high and consistent agreement that people making use of agency services are deserving of those services. Education, in contrast to the earlier reported finding, here seems to play a modest role. Among those with some college experience, 62% agreed with the statement that people receiving some form of welfare benefits were deserving of such. This statistic is a significant contrast to the 77% who hold the same belief and who have less than 7 years' education. Indeed, as Table One illustrates, there is a small but steady increase in the proportions who agree that people using service agencies are deserving, as one descends the educational attainment ladder of the sampled Chicanos. That is, there is a slight tendency for those with greater educational attainment to be less in agreement that recipients of public assistance are deserving.

TABLE ONE

CLIENT AGREEMENT ABOUT SOCIAL SERVICE BENEFITS, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

(Presented in Percentages)

	Some College (29)	High School (88)	Partial H.S. (132)	7-9 Years (72)	Less Than 7 Years (98)
Most people who use service agencies are deserving	62	66	63	74	77
Service is a right not a charity	90	81	77	81	94

However, if Chicanos generally believe that human welfare benefits are a citizen's right and that those receiving them are generally deserving, their own success in attaining such services is seen in quite a different light. Table Two illustrates in bold relief that most Chicanos report a high degree of difficulty in learning about services and benefits. Furthermore, those with lesser degrees of formal education in greater proportions tend to report the difficulties of learning about various programs (see Table Two).

In addition to a sense of frustration in learning about programs and services of the various agencies, there is a belief held that in gaining access to the benefits, one's needs play a less significant role than whom one knows. The proportions within each educational category, for example, range from 49% to a high of 68% who respond that universalistic criteria are less important than favoritism in receiving benefits. In addition, there is an inverse relationship between education and beliefs about favoritism: those with lesser amounts of education are more likely to agree that universalistic criteria are violated in extending benefits. (See Table Two).

TABLE TWO

CHICANO CLIENTS' AGREEMENT ON LEARNING ABOUT BENEFITS, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

(Reported in Percentages)

	Some College (29)	High School Graduates (88)	Partial H.S. (131)	7-9 Years (72)	Less Than 7 Years (98)
Difficult for Chicanos to learn about services and programs of different agencies.	55	67	61	79	70
"Needs" vs "Who you know" in getting services and benefits from service agencies.	55	49	52	57	68

Tables One and Two, jointly, demonstrate several points. In the first place, most of those utilizing human welfare agencies are viewed as deserving of that right. However, the agencies services

typically are not thought to be distributed in an equitable fashion. Chicano clients find it very difficult to learn about various services and programs different agencies provide. The differing amounts of formal education possessed by the Chicano clients does little to differentiate among them with regard to their perceptions: those highly educated are as likely as the more modestly educated to report the perception of a lack of parity in the distribution of goods and services of the agencies.

Table Three presents the sampled Chicanos' beliefs about some of the more specific manifestations of their treatment from an agency.

Chicanos overwhelmingly tend to agree that agency employees are more concerned about their personal, rather than the clients', needs and interests. They are seen, in a word, as self-serving bureaucrats. Chicanos also articulate that bureaucratic rules significantly hamper the assistance process: the necessity for exhaustive paperwork, the rigid over-reliance on rules and regulations, the incessant "buck-passing" and lack of staff's ability to make decisions, and a general "run-around" given clients, all are restrictive in the Chicano's quest for needed services.

The Table also presents some important information about the effect of one's education in dealing successfully with public welfare bureaucracies. It would be a reasonable expectation that individuals with greater formal education would report more success in dealing with a bureaucracy. This is not the case. Rather, it is readily observed from Table Three that one's educational attainment is an inconclusive factor in explaining the Chicano clients' attitudes and beliefs regarding public service agencies. This finding can be stated more directly: Chicano clients with significant educational attainments are as likely as those with modest accomplishments to evaluate negatively the performance of human service agencies.

Summary

In conclusion, one is forced to the realization that Chicanos are not overly optimistic regarding the services for which they apply. Thus, while the general belief is that they merit the benefits of the human welfare organizations, they readily acknowledge a bias in their distribution. This unfairness is seen both in the staff and in the organization. Staff are seen as self-serving and un-

TABLE THREE

CLIENT AGREEMENT ON BELIEFS ABOUT AGENCIES, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

(Reported in Percentages)

	Some College (29)	High School Graduation (88)	Partial H.S. (131)	7-9 Years (72)	Less Than 7 Years (98)
Employees more concerned about own interests than those of the client	69	57	67	69	71
Clients must go to many different agencies before they get the services they need.	79	74	70	81	77
Agencies are more interested in filling out forms than in helping people.	66	56	64	75	70
Nobody is in charge of a service agency when one wants to find out something or get something done.	69	59	61	72	72
Most agencies are more concerned about rules and regulations than clients needs.	76	73	64	81	79

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concerned with the needs of the clients. The organization's rules, moreover, are witnessed as obstacles to receiving assistance.

The perceptions of the Chicano clients that there is decided falseness to the commitment of the agency in helping the client toward a state of self-sufficiency may well be based on fact. An earlier chapter illustrated dramatically that the help extended actually functions to keep the Chicano client at a secondary position in the larger society. This chapter thus has illustrated that Chicanos' beliefs and attitudes of cynicism are based on fact.

It is of more importance, however, to observe that the data of this chapter support the notions of the internal colonialism scheme. There is agreement that factors other than need enter into the decision of whether or not to extend services and benefits. This leads to suspicion by the Chicano clients. In turn, the bureaucracy is seen as highly unresponsive and self-serving. The conclusion is that the agencies really work to keep clients in a secondary position. Moreover, they work to further alienate Chicanos from the larger society.

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EDUCATION AND CHICANO CLIENTS

Introduction

Similar to other agencies, the condition of educational life for Chicanos in the region under study had undergone little previous study. Any study of this population in the intermountain area existed almost exclusively in isolated graduate student research projects. These studies, as one might expect, focused on one school district or on one school.

Past deliberations at the local and state level between spokesmen for the Chicano community and educational leaders about Chicano students focused on two kinds of evidence: 1) data gleaned from studies done in the Southwest or California on Chicano students and 2) anecdotal reports of singular experiences in the schools in question. One of the basic issues addressed in our research was to ascertain the extent to which the educational experience reported for Chicano students nationally.

Most reviews of the research and writing on Chicano students in the United States concluded that a shocking situation obtains almost universally. For instance, Steiner concluded that, "The deeducation of La Raza is indeed over achieved. Of all the children of the poor who go to school as though they go to defend their cultural heritage none come away with greater bitterness and frustration." (1970:7) The notion of a failing educational enterprise repeats in most of the literature; as examples, Father Henry J. Casso has called the schooling of Chicano children "a travesty of American Education" (1970:97) and Thomas J. Carter concluded on the basis of extensive research that Chicano students have a "history of educational neglect." (1970). Two massive research projects, (Grebler, **et al.,** 1970 and Coleman, 1966) provide substantial empirical evidence to corroborate such conclusions.

Explanations of the cause or causes of this poor educational experience differ, but essentially there are two schools of thought on the situation. These two points of view seem to grow from differing conceptions of the purpose and responsibility of schooling rather than upon different research findings. One conception builds upon a melting pot or assimilationist base and argues that school failure for Chicano students finds its cause in the culture and home of the child. This has been traditional educator thinking and has led to such ideas as "cultural deprivation" and "cultural difference" as explanations of the dismal school experience of Chicano children. This point of view would be consistent with the "pathological" conception of Chicanos discussed earlier and would promote assimilationist or compensatory education strategies as remedies for the condition. The ultimate conclusion to this sort of reasoning is that the Chicano student will perform normally in the school when he learns not to be a Chicano. Carter's research strongly supports the notion that the student, as a client, must drastically change to meet the school's expectations if he is to succeed.

> School achievement, as measured by whatever standard, is closely related to social class and to home background. This seems to hold true regardless of the criterion used to judge socioeconomic status. Parents with more education, income, higher status jobs, and so forth, produce children who generally perform well in school. Higher status Mexican American homes tend to be less 'Mexican,' more 'American' or acculturated. The more a child is like what the school expects, the better he will achieve — that is, the more acculturation, the higher the achievement. (1970: 20).

This educational point of view follows from the larger social philosophy which argues that the dominant Anglo group represents Americanism and that if minorities wish the rights of first class citizenship they must Americanize, (Angloize), themselves.

The second school of thought suggests that the school, rather than the client, with its assimilationist perspective predictably dysfunctions for the Chicano child. De Leon (1970:34) captures the essence of this point of view. He contends that irrespective of a child's cultural background "it is to this institution — the school, provided with a specific Anglo-Saxon philosophy and whose purpose is assimilation at all costs, come what may — that the Mexican American child comes for his education." He concludes that until the school realizes that its narrow-minded interpretation victimizes

the child who is different from the dominant group that Mexican American education will continue to be lamentable. This point of view has become extremely popular with researchers and students of Chicano education, e.g., (Samora, 1970:88), (Carter, 1970:111) and (Guerra, 1970:69). Despite this academic popularity, public school people cling to the alternate point of view. Carter documents this maintenance in educators (1970:62).

At one point, however, the advocates of both positions find agreement. That is, the educational experience of Chicano students must improve if the social, economic, and political fruits of society are to become available to them. Our findings begin to establish that a similar situation exists in the intermountain west.

In the study year, Chicanos enrolled in the public schools represented four percent of the entire school population. Obviously, this is small compared to regions of the country such as the Southwest, but it represents the largest minority in the state. Typical of the mountain states when one discusses a minority group he speaks of an environment overwhelmingly dominated by Anglos.

Nearly eighty percent of the Chicano students attended schools in one of seven districts located in the state's metropolitan center. An earlier study of secondary students in one of these districts, (Byrne, 1970:122) found Chicano students to have a forty five percent dropout rate. Our analysis of dropout statistics indicate that Chicanos dropped out at a much greater rate than their representative percent of the school population. In the study year three percent of all secondary school students were identified as Chicano and during the same period seven percent of all secondary school dropouts were Chicano. It seems the phenomenon of a high dropout rate for Chicanos occurs in areas where they are a small population as well as in areas of high population concentration. A high Chicano dropout rate is consistently reported in the literature, e.g., (National Advisory Commission on Mexican American, 1968:3), (Carter, 1970:28-29), (Burma, 1967:88-89), and (Ortego, 1970:45-46).

Another piece of information which suggests the incompleteness of the Chicano school experience has to do with Adult Education programs. Ten percent of the adults enrolled in high school completion programs were Chicano and twenty-two percent of the adults enrolled in Adult Basic Education programs were Chicano.

Family Biographical Information:

In their study of Mexican Americans, Grebler, **et al.** (1970: 165-166) conclude that there are five significant influences on the school achievement of Chicanos and Anglos. In capsule the five are: family educational level; pupil attitudes and values; school type, (socioeconomic and ethnic composition); exclusive use of English in the home; and family economic level. In this study we found a rather similar list of factors which seem to influence the school performance of Chicano students: the birthplace or point of cultural origin of parents; the pattern of language used in the home; the occupation of fathers; and the educational attainment of parents.

Our findings suggest a connectedness or pattern among these four influences. This relationship seems to have as its matrix the point of cultural origin or birthplace of the parents. Table 1 compares the birthplace of parents and students.

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF BIRTHPLACE
(Reported in Percentages)

Birthplace	Father (1151)	Mother (1153)	Student (1479)
Utah	13	19	78
Texas	04	02	02
Colorado	25	29	06
New Mexico	45	36	02
All Others	14	13	14

The major point of this table is that the majority of Chicano students would be identified as first generation in the state with most of the parents having their cultural roots in Colorado and New Mexico. The towns in which the parents from Colorado and New Mexico were born are almost all located in the southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico area. Those familiar with that area would recognize that it has a large Chicano population most of whom earn their living in low status agricultural or related jobs. Further it is typical of families in that area to maintain the use of Spanish in the home and for the parents to have low levels of educational attainment.

When one looks at the home language of these students' families, two basic patterns emerge: 1) the exclusive use of English: and 2) a mixed language of English and Spanish.

TABLE 2

LANGUAGE USED IN HOME

(Total = 1225)

Language	Percent
English	43
Spanish	08
Spanish-English Mixture	49

A relatedness between point of cultural origin and the language used in the home seems apparent when one looks at Table 3. It is also apparent that Spanish seems to have the greatest use in homes where the parents were born in New Mexico and Colorado. It is interesting to note that the language used in the home tends to vary dependent upon the area in the research state where the family lives (see Table 4).

These findings indicate that families moving into the state tend to cluster in the urban and suburban areas. This will take on added significance later in the chapter when comparisons are made on standardized achievement test scores between these same regions of the state.

The relatedness between the factors which seem to influence school achievement is strengthened when one considers language used in the home in terms of the fathers' occupation. (Mothers' occupation was not analyzed since nearly ninety percent of the mothers were categorized as housewives.) Table 5 considers language in the home in terms of fathers' occupation, the greater the incidence of using only English in the home and the lower the prestige of the father's occupational situation the greater the influence of Spanish on the language used in the home. As an additional piece of information note the preponderance of fathers in the skilled-unskilled job classification; sixty nine percent of all fathers fell in that category.

TABLE 3

PARENTS' BIRTH PLACE AND LANGUAGE USED IN THE HOME
(Reported in Percentages)

Birthplace	Utah		Colorado		New Mexico		Other	
	Mother (187)	Father (116)	Mother (277)	Father (226)	Mother (350)	Father (442)	Mother (145)	Father (171)
Language								
English	73	76	43	50	24	30	46	41
Spanish	02	03	06	03	06	06	11	12
Both	25	21	51	47	70	64	43	47

TABLE 4

LANGUAGE IN HOME BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

Region	Urban (192)	Suburban (535)	Rural (135)	Suburban-rural (361)	Total (1223)
Language					
English	25	43	54	49	43
Spanish	4	6	7	13	8
Both	71	51	39	38	49

TABLE 5

LANGUAGE IN THE HOME, BY FATHERS' OCCUPATION

(Reported in Percentages)

(Total = 1128)

Occupation	Professional & White Collar (166)	Skilled & Semi-Skilled (786)	Unskilled & Agricultural (130)	Unemployed (46)
Language				
English	54	45	28	28
Spanish	06	07	13	11
Both	40	48	59	61

The level of educational attainment for Chicano parents seems to be quite low. Table 6 summarizes educational attainment for both parents.

It is difficult to imagine another population that would have more than fifty percent of students' mothers and sixty percent of their fathers having completed less than a high school education. As with other factors which influence school performance a connectedness seems to exist for the level of parents educational attain-

TABLE 6

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PARENTS

(Reported in Percentages)

	Mother (732)	Father (690)
Years School Completed		
0 - 4	03	05
5 - 8	21	30
9 - 11	32	27
High School	38	26
Some College	05	08
B.A.	01	03
M.A.	00	01
Ph.D.	00	00

ment. For both parents the same general point may be made that the more formal education attained the less the influence of Spanish on the language in the home.

One further point needs to be made regarding the analysis of factors which influence school performance. It is highly possible, on the basis of our observation, that two groups of families might be operational in the mixed language category. With recent attempts by universities and state agencies to recruit and hire well qualified Chicanos, a small percent of the families reporting use of both languages may be truly bi-lingual, that is, fluent in two languages. At the same time most of the families in the mixed language category would probably be classified as a-lingual, that is, fluent in neither language. The findings on educational attainment and occupation would seem to support that conclusion.

Two factors frequently reported as influencing Chicano student school performance, divorce rate and large families, did not seem to be related in the research state.

This section on family biographical information began by indicating that four factors seemed to influence the school performance of Chicano students: the birthplace or cultural origin of parents; the pattern of language used in the home; the occupation of fathers; and the educational level of parents. We reviewed

findings on these factors in a way that suggests a relatedness between them. We believe the findings reasonably argue the case of relatedness and that for further analytic and interpretive purposes one may construct two general types of families for Chicano students in the research area. The following two capsule statements summarize the distinctive features of those two family types:

Type 1 — Parents in these families would have their cultural roots outside the state. Most likely the parents would have been born in the southern Colorado-northern New Mexico region. These families would tend to live in urban or suburban areas in the state. The father's occupation would fall toward the lower prestige positions. Both parents would have low levels of educational attainment. The families would use a mixture of Spanish and English in the home.

Type 2 — Parents in these families would have their cultural origin in the state. They are likely to live in suburban-rural or rural areas in the state. The father's occupation would be more prestigious than Type 1 above. Parents educational attainment would be near high school and higher than the parents in Type 1 above. These families would use English exclusively in the home.

In our analysis of school performance which follows we will refer to these two types for interpretive purposes.

School Performance

This study focused upon standard classifications of school performance information. This was in large measure dictated by our general research purpose of empirically describing a population not previously studied. Therefore, the discussion that follows concerns itself with the analysis of information on I.Q. scores, standardized achievement test scores, and grade point averages. It will be essential for the reader of the following discussion to take some caution in giving meaning to standardized scores for Chicano students. Moreno has reviewed the literature on the validity and reliability of currently used testing instruments for Chicano students and concluded the following:

1. Monolingual Spanish-speaking children and bilingual children are handicapped when taking English examinations of all types: intelligence, aptitude, and achievement.
2. The predictive validity of existing English tests, especially I.Q. and aptitude tests, is lost for Mexican American children.
3. Existing readiness tests may predict achievement for Spanish-speaking children in our present programs, but the test scores should clearly indicate different programs for different populations. (1970:27).

Historically, arguments contending an innate academic inferiority in Chicano students have been based upon such tests. Currently, informed thinking accepts the position that these instruments do not measure students from a culturally neutral position and the reader of this work should understand that the scores presented here were harvested with culturally biased instruments. We would suggest that the reader adopt the position on standardized measures taken in the Coleman report (1966:218). That is, that standardized tests do not measure from a culturally neutral base and that what they measure is how well a student is doing or will do relative to the norms of the dominant society. It would, perhaps, not be unreasonable to extend that point one further step and suggest, at least for analytic purposes, that these measures reflect how well the school is doing in preparing the child for a self-sufficient role in our society.

On the national level, Grebler, **et al.** (1970:162) summarize their findings on the measures of school performance similar to those used in this study:

> Mexican American pupils generally score lower in all four dimensions analyzed: grades, deportment, achievement test scores standardized against a national norm, and I.Q. test scores. Particularly notable is the relative score of pupils on the two types of measures standardized against a national norm: the achievement tests and the I.Q. tests. In both tests, Anglo students score slightly above the national norms and Mexican Americans well below.

Researchers concerned with Mexican American students regularly report similar conclusions, e.g., (Carter, 1970: 17-18), (Zintz, 1963:233). Regrettably, the findings of this study would lead to the conclusion the Chicano students in the mountain west may be included in those kinds of generalizations.

I.Q. SCORES

Our sample of Chicano students registered I.Q. scores with a somewhat greater distribution in the higher I.Q. categories than predictions for Chicanos nationally (Ortego, 1970:43). Nonetheless their distribution did not approach a normal curve. The mean I.Q. for the sample was 94 which is six points less than the national mean and since the data was positively skewed by a few very high scores one could conclude that Chicano students in the region generally fall more than six points below the national average. The fact that seventy percent of the scores fell between 70 and 100 lends credence to that conclusion. Analysis of the data found this to be true irrespective of sex.

Students in urban school districts had a greater percent of their distribution toward the lower end of the scale than students in suburban, rural, and suburban-rural districts all of which had similar distributions. The I.Q.s of students whose parents were born in the state were more evenly distributed across all I.Q. categories than those of students whose parents were born outside the state. The out-of-state group tended to have a much greater percent of their distribution in low I.Q. categories.

A similar pattern obtained for I.Q. scores and both mother's and father's educational attainment. In both analyses the less formal education the parent had the lower the I.Q. score of the student. Students whose fathers held white collar occupations show a nearly normal distribution of scores, forty-eight percent above 100. Students whose fathers held positions in the lower prestige categories had a much greater percent of their scores fall toward the low end of the I.Q. score. There was a definite pattern that the lower prestige the father's occupation, the greater the percent of scores below 100.

When I.Q. was analyzed by language spoken in the home the related pattern of home factors influencing performance held true. While forty-two percent of the I.Q.s in English-only homes fell above 100, only twenty-four percent of the scores from Spanish influenced homes fell above 100.

We also analyzed I.Q. scores on the basis of the size of the family, (number of children). This factor, frequently referred to in the literature as a determinant of Chicano school performance, did not seem related in any way. Perhaps this is because the state

in which the data were collected is known for its large families. The average family size for Chicano students was five children.

Tables 7 - 14 detail the findings on I.Q.

TABLE 7

I.Q. SUMMARY BY SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

I.Q.	Sex		Total
	Male (285)	Female (260)	(545)
70 - 89	36	34	35
90 - 100	34	35	35
101 - 111	18	17	17
112 - 145	12	14	13

Range = 70 - 145

Mean = 94

Medium = 92

TABLE 8

I.Q. SUMMARY BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

Region I.Q.	Urban (86)	Rural (95)	Suburban (208)	Suburban-Rural (155)
70 - 89	38	32	35	34
90 - 100	41	35	34	32
101 - 111	16	18	16	20
112 - 145	05	15	15	14

TABLE 9

I.Q. BY FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE

(Reported in Percentages)

State I.Q.	Utah (44)	Colorado (106)	New Mexico (189)	Other (59)	Total (398)
70 - 89	25	27	40	36	34
90 - 100	32	40	34	34	35
101 - 111	23	22	14	18	18
112 - 145	20	11	12	12	13

TABLE 10

I.Q. BY MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE

(Reported in Percentages)

State I.Q.	Utah (67)	Colorado (126)	New Mexico (143)	Other (60)	Total (396)
70 - 89	20	40	33	42	34
90 - 100	36	36	37	33	36
101 - 111	19	18	17	15	17
112 - 145	25	06	13	10	13

TABLE 11

I.Q. BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

(Reported in Percentages)

Years Formal Schooling I.Q.	0 - 4 (12)	5 - 8 (73)	9 - 11 (83)	High School (41)	Some College (13)
70 - 89	58	36	35	27	08
90 - 100	25	41	35	32	15
101 - 111	09	16	19	22	31
112 - 145	08	07	11	19	46

TABLE 12

I.Q. BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION
(Reported in Percentages)

Years Formal Schooling	0 - 4 (7)	5 - 8 (51)	9 - 11 (90)	High School (72)	Some College (8)
I.Q.					
70 - 89	57	45	31	28	12
90 - 100	29	39	38	26	25
101 - 111	00	12	23	26	00
112 - 145	14	04	08	20	63

TABLE 13

I.Q. BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
(Reported in Percentages)

(N-483)

Occupation Categories	White Collar & Professional (70)	Skilled & Semi-skilled (334)	Agricultural & Unskilled (58)	Unemployed (21)
I.Q.				
70 - 89	26	35	33	57
90 - 100	26	35	41	29
100 - 111	27	16	16	05
112 - 145	21	14	10	09

TABLE 14

I.Q. BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME
(Reported in Percentages)

Language	English (188)	Spanish (38)	Both (218)
I.Q.			
70 - 89	25	37	43
90 - 100	34	39	33
101 - 111	24	11	14
112 - 145	17	13	10

Standardized Achievement Tests

In order to present the most current picture of measured achievement the research team collected data on the results of testing programs that had been conducted within one year of the beginning of our efforts. Enough data were available to analyze in four academic areas tested: math, reading, language, and spelling. Categories of achievement used in the analysis were drawn in terms of national percentile rankings. The distribution of scores was plotted along the following categories: 2nd percentile to 30th percentile; 31st percentile to 49th percentile; 50th percentile; 51st percentile to 74th percentile; and 75th percentile to 99th percentile. For the reader not accustomed to the use of percentiles an example may clarify the meaning. If a student's score falls on the 30th percentile of a nationally normed scale that means that out of 100 normally distributed scores, seventy scores will be higher than his. We analyzed the Chicano student scores using region, sex, and school level as independent variables

After reviewing our findings on standardized achievement we chose to discuss them jointly rather than for each academic area since the pattern of scoring was almost the same for every area. In each academic area tested at least fifty percent of all scores fell in the 2nd to 30th percentile category. Concomitantly in none of the areas did the distribution above the 50th percentile exceed twenty-five percent. Of the four academic areas, scores seemed to be the lowest in language.

In each of the academic areas girls as a group tended to score slightly higher than boys. No appreciable differences appeared in the distribution of scores in any of the areas tested between elementary and secondary school. In all four academic areas the distribution of scores from suburban-rural and rural schools had a greater percent above the 50th percentile than the distribution from suburban and urban schools.

Since the distribution of scores for all students concentrated so heavily at the bottom of the scale we decided not to pursue the analysis further using family factors. It appeared that would simply be a matter of deciding which group had the highest low scores. It should be remembered that the newly immigrant families to the state tend to settle in the urban and suburban areas where we found the lowest achievement results.

Tables 16 through 23 give an accounting of the distribution of achievement scores in terms of region, school level, and sex.

TABLE 15

MATH SUMMARY BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

	Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	Male (300)	Female (314)	Male (137)	Female (156)	Male (437)	Female (470)
National Percentile						
99 - 75	10	11	11	06	10	09
74 - 51	12	15	13	14	13	14
50	02	04	00	02	01	04
49 - 31	14	23	27	27	18	24
30 - 02	62	47	49	51	58	49

TABLE 16

MATH SUMMARY BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

	Urban (196)	Suburban-Rural (349)	Rural (118)	Suburban (234)	Total (898)
National Percentile					
99 - 75	05	14	14	04	10
74 - 51	13	14	19	10	13
50	04	02	02	02	02
49 - 31	20	21	19	25	22
30 - 02	58	49	46	59	53

TABLE 17

LANGUAGE SUMMARY BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

	Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	Male (301)	Female (308)	Male (140)	Female (155)	Male (441)	Female (463)
National Percentile						
99 - 75	08	15	07	07	08	12
74 - 51	08	15	11	15	09	15
50	03	03	02	03	02	04
49 - 31	12	16	11	19	12	17
30 - 02	69	51	69	56	69	52

TABLE 18

LANGUAGE SUMMARY BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

	Urban (196)	Suburban (233)	Suburban-Rural (344)	Rural (121)	Total (894)
National Percentile					
99 - 75	06	05	15	10	10
74 - 51	12	09	14	12	12
50	02	04	03	02	03
49 - 31	09	16	16	16	14
30 - 02	71	66	52	60	61

TABLE 19

READING SUMMARY BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

	Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	Male (306)	Female (316)	Male (112)	Female (118)	Male (418)	Female (434)
National Percentile						
99 - 75	06	11	11	08	08	11
74 - 51	12	18	13	19	12	18
50	04	05	02	06	03	05
49 - 31	14	15	19	08	15	13
30 - 02	64	51	55	59	62	53

TABLE 20

READING SUMMARY BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

	Urban (202)	Suburban (248)	Rural (110)	Suburban-Rural (292)	Total (852)
National Percentile					
99 - 75	03	04	13	16	09
74 - 51	11	16	14	17	15
50	02	07	04	03	04
49 - 31	16	15	13	13	14
30 - 02	68	58	56	51	58

TABLE 21

SPELLING BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND SEX

(Reported in Percentages)

	Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	Male (135)	Female (133)	Male (140)	Female (149)	Male (275)	Female (282)
National Percentile						
99 - 75	10	15	08	11	09	13
74 - 51	16	17	09	15	12	16
50	01	06	04	05	03	05
49 - 31	17	18	17	21	17	20
30 - 02	56	44	62	48	59	46

TABLE 22

SPELLING SUMMARY BY REGION

(Reported in Percentages)

	Urban (182)	Suburban-Rural (241)	Rural (118)	Total (541)
National Percentile				
99 - 75	10	10	14	11
74 - 51	10	17	13	14
50	03	05	03	04
49 - 31	19	19	17	18
30 - 02	58	49	53	53

Grade Point Average

This measure of school performance entertains certain difficulties not encountered in the interpretation of measures of performance using standardized instruments. Two obvious influences on the data make it non-useful for some comparisons: 1) each individual teacher gives grades on the basis of various factors, many of which do not relate to academic performance and there is a large variance between individual teachers as to how these factors are weighted; and 2) beyond the variance in individual teacher ratings there is no reason to believe that grades in one district have any comparable correspondence with grades in any other district. Given these reservations about the instability of Grade Point Average, it still offers an important insight into school performance since it probably provides a more accurate assessment of educator's opinion of Chicano performance than any other measure.

For the total sample more than half of all G.P.A.'s fell at or below the 2.5 level, that is, more than half the students had not better than a C+ average. A pattern of decreasing G.P.A. emerged when comparing elementary grades with secondary school grades. As an example, sixty-five percent of the elementary students have averages above 2.6 while sixty percent of the high school students had averages below 2.6. The distribution of G.P.A.'s for elementary students shows less than twenty-five percent below 2.1 while forty seven percent of the high school distribution fell below 2.1.

An analysis of G.P.A. by parent's birthplace showed an inclination toward lower school performance for students whose parents were born out of state, but the difference was not nearly so apparent as on standardized measures. However, when G.P.A.'s were reviewed in terms of language in the home one finds two interesting points. First, irrespective of language, the decline in G.P.A. from elementary school to secondary school remained constant. Second, the distribution of G.P.A.'s in the higher extremes of the scale were greater for English only homes than Spanish only or a Spanish-English mixture homes. Concomitantly the reverse of this pattern could be found at the lower extremes of the G.P.A. scale.

The pattern of a relationship between father's education and school performance held true in terms of G.P.A. As the number of years of formal schooling for the student's fathers increased, the

distribution of G.P.A.'s above 2.5 increased. The extreme cases make the point; for students whose fathers had between zero and four years of schooling, twenty-eight percent of the G.P.A.'s fell above 2.5 while for students whose fathers had some college education fifty-nine percent of the G.P.A.'s fell above 2.5. At the lower end of the scale, below 2.1, the reverse was true with a consistent decrease in the distribution with an increase in father's education.

In terms of G.P.A. the final factor found to influence school performance, father's occupation, seemed once again to have impact. That is, the more prestige the position of the father's occupation the higher the G.P.A. For example, while more than sixty percent of the distribution of G.P.A.'s in the professional-white collar category fell above 2.5, less than fifty percent of the G.P.A.'s in the lower occupational categories fell above 2.5.

Tables 24 through 27, which follow, allow the reader to look specifically at the findings reviewed on Chicano students G.P.A.'s.

TABLE 23

SUMMARY OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE, BY SCHOOL LEVEL

(Reported in Percentages)

	Elementary (461)	Junior High (464)	High School (283)	Total (1208)
G.P.A. Levels				
.2 - 1.0	04	04	11	06
1.1 - 1.5	04	13	12	09
1.6 - 2.0	14	18	24	18
2.1 - 2.5	13	23	21	18
2.6 - 3.0	31	22	18	25
3.1 - 3.5	21	15	11	16
3.6 - 4.0	13	05	03	08

TABLE 24

GRADE POINT AVERAGE BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION
(Reported in Percentages)

	Professional & White Collar (178)	Skilled (507)	Semi-skilled (315)	Agricultural Unskilled (146)
G.P.A. Levels				
.2 - 1.0	02	06	06	09
1.1 - 1.5	05	11	10	08
1.6 - 2.0	16	16	21	20
2.1 - 2.5	16	20	19	19
2.6 - 3.0	27	25	23	26
3.1 - 3.5	22	15	15	14
3.6 - 4.0	12	07	06	04

TABLE 25

GRADE POINT AVERAGE BY LANGUAGE IN THE HOME AND SCHOOL LEVEL
(Reported in Percentages)

	English (473)		Spanish (80)		Both Languages (527)	
	Elementary (161)	Secondary (312)	Elementary (25)	Secondary (55)	Elementary (210)	Secondary (317)
G.P.A. Levels						
.2 - 1.0	02	04	04	09	05	09
1.1 - 1.5	03	10	00	11	07	15
1.6 - 2.0	11	17	20	15	12	21
2.1 - 2.5	09	25	20	34	15	20
2.6 - 3.0	33	23	36	15	31	20
3.1 - 3.5	25	16	16	07	19	13
3.6 - 4.0	17	05	04	09	11	02

TABLE 26

GRADE POINT AVERAGE BY FATHER'S EDUCATION
(Reported in Percentages)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION				
G.P.A. Level	0 - 4 (35)	5 - 8 (200)	9 - 11 (173)	High School (158)	College (73)
.2 - 1.0	11	06	03	07	05
1.1 - 1.5	14	11	14	04	09
1.6 - 2.0	24	17	20	16	08
2.1 - 2.5	23	17	19	19	19
2.6 - 3.0	6	26	23	28	26
3.1 - 3.5	11	18	14	19	21
3.6 - 4.0	11	9	7	7	12

Summary

Earlier on in this chapter we noted that a primary question of the research had to do with the correspondence of the educational situation for Chicano students living in the lightly populated states of the mountain west and the educational situation of Chicano students living in areas of dense Chicano population such as the Southwest and California. The findings reported above suggest that in either environment the educational experience of Chicano children has little to recommend it.

We made the point that success in the American public school is an essential step to social mobility in this country. Assuming that to be true, one could not expect on the basis of information reported above that Chicano's social condition in the research area will measurably change in the near future. From our point of view, that measures of school performance indicate the effectiveness of the schools to help Chicanos achieve a self-sufficient life, nothing in our survey indicates that as now constituted the schools can provide that help.

In terms of the internal colonial model as an explanation of Chicano life style some conclusions can be reached. Since the Chicano population base is exceptionally small, the degree of external administration of the school is almost total. As an example, Chicano students comprised four percent of the student population in the research area yet less than one percent of the

local school board membership for the area could be identified as Chicano. The following chapter on educators will further make this point when it reports a minimum effort at the employment of Chicanos in professional positions within the educational establishment.

Nothing in our data points toward an overt expression of racism in the schools. However, if one thinks of an institutionalized racism as a disposition not to accept as good those values and behaviors not expressed by the dominant group, then the pattern of school performance by students identified as first generation in the research area suggests some degree of racism is operative in the school system. It will be remembered that students from families where the parents were native born to the research area tended to perform at a higher level than newly immigrant family. This seems extremely important since it takes racism to a more finite step than American/non-American. It means that a student will need not only to assimilate to the general social values of the larger society, but that he will need to adopt the unique ways of the geographic region in which he lives to find success in school. At the same time, it is possible, since even those students from more acculturated families did not perform very well on measures of school achievement, that even though the child's family adopts the language and life style of the dominant group that a more subtle racism will block the extent of his progress in the schools.

Finally, to look with hope rather than pessimism at the educational situation of Chicano students in the research area, there has been in the last five years a great deal of rhetoric, if little action, about the need to move the schools toward a greater utility with Chicano children. If that sentiment carries substance, rather than political necessity, then those who make educational policy should consider strongly the following:

1. That it may be inaccurate to conceive of one Chicano student population;
2. That at least two family life styles may be operative for Chicanos in the research area;
3. That at least the following family factors will have an impact on the child's performance in school, parents cultural origin, language used in the home, parents education, and father's occupation;
4. and, finally, that it may be necessary to design differing programs for Chicano students dependent upon their families condition and life style.

EDUCATORS FOR THE CHICANO CLIENT

Introduction

Chapter I noted the research focus on social agencies which express the purpose of helping clients move to a position of self-sufficiency. It seems accurate to argue that no social institution in our society has received greater support for that purpose than the public school systems. It is commonly acknowledged that the major route to social mobility is the formal educational process. Many would question whether what is learned in school substantially leads to self-sufficiency, but there seems little doubt that one needs the school's stamp of approval to be recognized as a legitimate candidate for the more desirable rewards and goods in our society. From that point of view, a strong case may be made that the most significant step toward self-sufficiency is to succeed in the public schools. Assuming that to be true, then it becomes crucial to a young person's future how those who conduct public education conceive of his potential and needs. This is particularly critical for the minority student since he brings to school characteristics different than those students who have traditionally used the school as a launching pad for future success.

Juan Aragon, (1973:34-35) suggests that this institution, the public school, has a latent function for minority children. That is, it serves as a "filtration system" that will not let them pass into the social mainstream unless they are purged of their ethnic impurities. This idea of screening out ethnicity finds consistency with the assimilationist perspective of American education mentioned in the previous chapter. To what extent this function prohibits the child from obtaining the manifest purpose of the school, education for successful citizenry, remains an issue of educational debate. Nonetheless, we would argue that the insistence by public

schools that all students must fit a certain mold offers a more reasonable explanation for the failure of Chicano students, than does the case that something in the child's home or culture dictates an inferior academic performance in school.

It is in school that most Chicanos undergo their first exposure, as clients, to an official state agency. Many researchers and educational authors contend that for Chicano children that initial contact differs so drastically from the world of their home that they suffer severe cultural conflict. Many have speculated that the Chicano child never recovers educationally from this experience. It has been a commonplace petition from scholars and concerned citizens alike that the schools actively recruit and employ Chicano teachers and administrators to serve as positive role models for Chicano children and to reduce the conflicting elements in the school's environment.

If one accepts the argument, which seems reasonable to the authors, that Chicano students need educators of their own ethnicity and culture, then one measure of the schools' concern for the educational well-being of its Chicano students is the extent to which it has employed Chicanos in educational positions. This study attempted to measure Chicano employment in the schools using data from official school districts reports (Annual Statistical Report of School Districts, 1972-73). The analysis of these data leads to the conclusion that schools, in the area under study, make a minimum effort. The following general analytic information from those data seem to support that judgment:

> School employees are reported in two categories: 1) Classified: those who provide maintenance or service functions in a school district; and 2) Certificated: the professional educational staff in a school district. Only one-third of forty school districts reported Chicano employees in the classified category.
>
> In sum, there were one hundred twenty-two Chicanos employed as classified, which was two percent of all employees in this category. Even that is a somewhat inaccurate picture, since more than one-half of the one hundred twenty-two were employed in two school districts.
>
> Thirty percent of the state's school districts reported Chicano personnel in the certificated category. In total two hundred and fifty-seven Chicanos were reported in this category. This equals two percent of the certificated personnel in the study area.

One aspect of the findings reported above has been rigorously questioned by various Chicano leaders in the state. They contend that some districts grossly exaggerate the number of Chicano teachers employed. If there is validity to these charges, then it would be difficult to conclude that efforts to employ Chicanos were even minimal.

In most school districts where Chicanos were reported as employed in the certificated category they comprised approximately one percent of that category in their district. As an example, one district which has twelve percent of its student population as Chicano reports only one percent of the certificated employees as Chicano.

Educators View of Chicano Students

There was an attempt to ascertain a sense of educator's thinking about Chicano students. To do this, the same conceptual scheme which was applied to other agencies, (Arciniega and Brischetto, 1972) was utilized. The four cell analytical model below guided the construction of the survey instrument.

Consequences of Chicano student life styles are seen as chiefly:

	Positive	Negative
Internal	(1) Chicano student life styles constitute a distinct **culture** which provides a satisfying way of life. Chicano students seen as "NOBLE POOR"	(2) Chicano student life styles constitute a distinct subculture which perpetuates deficiencies along generational lines. Chicano students seen as "PATHOLOGICAL"
External	(3) Chicano student life styles are functional adaptations to external restraints imposed by the larger society. Chicano students seen as "COPERS"	(4) Chicano student life styles are dysfunctional responses to external restraints imposed by the larger society. Chicano students seen as "THE OPPRESSED"

(Arciniega and Brischetto 1972)

Arciniega and Brischetto argue the use of such an analytic framework as follows:

> By juxtaposing the distinction between internal and external determinants of Chicano student life styles with the dichotomy between positive and negative consequences of these life styles, a four-fold scheme is obtained for classifying educators' perspectives on the Chicano student. Behind each view is a philosophical position value-laden with a set of assumptions about what ought to be. Thus, each view implicates a different approach to the education of the Chicano student and different educational programs follow logically from these various approaches (Arciniega and Brischetto 1972).

The instrument used to harvest educators' views of Chicano students adopted that rationale. A one page position paper was written to correspond with the philosophic point of view of each of the cells in the model. Each of the position papers also listed certain educational strategies that were implied by the position. Below is a brief example of the strategies listed for each cell:

1. Students as Noble Poor — separate schools for Chicanos, run by Chicanos, Spanish the medium of instruction, — **separatist strategies;**
2. Students as pathological — elimination of Spanish and other cultural elements, — **compensatory education strategies;**
3. Students as copers — bilingual-bicultural educational programs, — **pluralistic strategies;**
4. Students as oppressed — total overhaul of social system, — **revolution strategies.**

The survey instrument was then administered, by mail, to a randomly selected group of educators from the same districts in which data were collected on Chicano students. The respondents were asked to rank the four positions from most desirable to least desirable for each of six questions. Tables 5 through 10 display the analysis of educators' responses to the six questions.

TABLE 5

PERCEPTION OF EDUCATORS

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 1.

If educators in your area of the country were asked as a total group to assess the four positions and rank them for desirability, what do you believe would be the outcome?

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(113)	07	32	57	04
2	(113)	10	53	28	09
3	(113)	49	12	13	26
4	(113)	34	02	03	61

TABLE 6

PERCEPTION OF LOCAL POLICY MAKERS

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 2.

If the educational policy makers in your district were to rank the four positions in terms of desirability, how do you believe they would rank them?

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(111)	06	38	50	06
2	(111)	10	47	36	07
3	(111)	51	14	13	22
4	(111)	33	02	02	63

TABLE 7

EDUCATORS' PERCEPTION OF STATE SCHOOL OFFICE

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 3.

If professionals of State Offices in your part of the country made a desirability ranking of the positions for application to the State's schools, how do you imagine they would rank them?

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(111)	10	41	45	05
2	(111)	9	47	39	05
3	(111)	46	11	15	28
4	(111)	37	01	02	60

TABLE 8

"SELF RANKING BY EDUCATORS"

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 4.

"If you personally were to rank the four positions, how would you rank them?"

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(113)	09	47	40	04
2	(113)	16	39	37	09
3	(113)	47	12	16	25
4	(113)	30	00	7	63

TABLE 9

EDUCATORS' PERCEPTION OF PARENTS

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 5.

Consider the parents of your Chicano students who you interact with. How do you believe they would rate the positions on a scale of 1 to 4 with one being best and four being the worst?

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(110)	12	50	32	06
2	(110)	23	32	36	09
3	(110)	39	11	22	28
4	(110)	25	05	13	57

TABLE 10

EDUCATORS' PERCEPTION OF CHICANO LEADERS

(Reported in Percentages)

QUESTION 6.

If Chicano leaders in your part of the country were to rank the four positions in terms of desirability, how do you believe they would rank them?

Rank		Oppressed	Copers	Pathological	Noble Poor
1	(113)	31	39	16	14
2	(113)	26	34	26	14
3	(113)	24	18	32	27
4	(113)	18	09	27	46

It is useful to consider Tables 5, 6, and 7 as representing how those who educate Chicano students perceive the conceptual attitudes of the educational establishment. Two general points emerge when reviewing these tables: 1) those who educate Chicanos see the area's educationists as rather strongly favoring a pathological

explanation of the Chicanos' school performance; and 2) they view the educational establishment as overwhelmingly rejecting the oppressed and noble poor explanations. It was anticipated that the State Office of Public Instruction would be seen as favoring the coper position since over the past two years they have made several public pronouncements of adopting a pluralistic policy. The findings on this question are interesting for at least two reasons: 1) given a formal policy of pluralism one is surprised that less than fifty percent of the educators of Chicanos perceive the officials in the State Office as ranking the coper explanation as most desirable; and 2) a question may be raised as to whether the message communicated to educators in the field through normal interaction routes might be different than the officially stated policy of the State Office.

It adds further insight to compare the self-perception of the educators of Chicanos and their view of others involved in education. Those who desire change in educational practice for Chicano children will be encouraged by the preference of educators of Chicanos for the pluralistic position, but discouraged by the felt difference between that group and others in the educational establishment.

In sum, it seems that those involved in the day to day education of Chicano children perceive a maintenance of the pathological perspective in the educational establishment.

A review of Table 9 and 10 provides some sense of how those who daily educate Chicano children view the Chicano community. The most obvious points to be made are: 1) these educators see themselves as being somewhat correspondent with the thinking of parents; 2) that Chicano community, parents and leaders, are seen as rejecting rather heavily the pathological position which seems to have great support in the educational establishment; and 3) these educators view Chicano leaders in the area as being quite divergent in their thinking from Chicano parents.

It is interesting that in a small survey (n = 200) of parents of Chicano children, parents ranked themselves as very congruent in ranking the positions with Chicano leaders.

It seems fair to argue on the basis of these findings that educators of Chicanos see a large gap in the thinking of the educational establishment and the Chicano community.

There was further the speculation that if the educator sample was manipulated into sub-samples according to selected sociological characteristics, some differing conceptions of Chicano children might emerge. Table 11 displays the samples self ranking when analyzed in terms of selected characteristics. The major point of this Table is that regardless of professional position, birthplace, sex, undergraduate institution, ability to speak Spanish, or school level, educators of Chicano children ranked the positions in the following order from most to least desirable: pluralistic education, compensatory education, revolution, and separatist education.

For heuristic purposes the data on area in which the educator lives seems interesting. This is the one variable that showed a difference on how sub-sample groups would rank the positions. Educators from rural and suburban rural areas would prefer a compensatory educational program to a pluralistic program. In the previous chapter that reviews findings on Chicano students there was reported a substantial difference between students living in these areas and students living in urban areas. Further research may follow that could test whether or not a different kind of Chicano lives in various social and economic environments. The findings reported here may simply be a reflection of divergent Chicano populations.

Summary

If one considers the findings reported in this chapter in light of the extremely sub-standard school performance of Chicano students reported in the previous chapter, then certain implications come to mind regarding the attitudes of educators toward Chicano clients and the necessities for their educational life. It would be unusual if the educators surveyed did not have, at least, a general sense of how well Chicano students were doing in their districts. Given that it is surprising that the educational establishment maintains strong support for compensatory education, since assimilationist strategies have been the modus operandi of the schools traditionally. It is highly possible that for many educators the conception of the child failing because his home and culture fail remains an operational truth. Several years of observation of school people in the intermountain area would seem to support that possibility.

At the same time the desirable ranking of pluralistic education by educators of Chicanos would seem, without further in-

TABLE 11

EDUCATOR SELF RANKING BY SELECTED SUB-SAMPLES
(Weighted Means)

				Revolution	Pluralist	Compensatory	Separatist
Current Position	)	Teachers	(64)	2.92	1.66	1.87	3.48
	)	Administrators	(42)	3.09	1.56	1.90	3.40
Birthplace	)	In State	(62)	2.95	1.59	1.86	3.53
	)	Out of State	(42)	3.07	1.66	1.84	3.31
Area	)	Rural	(33)	3.27	1.8	1.5	2.69
	)	Urban	(50)	2.78	1.42	2.0	3.62
	)	Suburban-Rural	(23)	2.92	1.77	1.62	3.52
Religion	)	LDS	(76)	3.01	1.63	1.85	3.46
	)	Non-LDS	(23)	2.79	1.52	1.84	3.57
Sex	)	Male	(69)	3.00	1.62	1.96	3.40
	)	Female	(37)	2.97	1.60	1.74	3.54
Undergrad Instit.	)	Largest St. Univ.	(39)	2.98	1.55	1.78	3.51
	)	Priv. In State	(26)	3.00	1.71	2.0	3.38
	)	Small St. Univ.	(22)	2.80	1.5	2.0	3.68
	)	Out of State	(14)	3.29	1.79	1.87	3.00
Speak Spanish	)	Some	(34)	2.86	1.52	1.97	3.44
	)	None	(69)	3.04	1.65	1.80	3.48
Level	)	Elementary	(54)	2.95	1.6	1.84	3.48
	)	Secondary	(44)	3.00	1.61	1.86	3.50

*Note: Consistent with the ranking scale the lowest mean represents the highest ranking. Weighted means were computed by weighting the rank of each position by the numerical value of its position on the scale.

vestigation, to acknowledge that many in the educational establishment are searching for different strategies to deal with the educational dilemmas of the Chicano child. If, however, one extended pluralism as a total social concept and articulated the ramifications of such a social conception, it is questionable whether it would still engender such support from educators. An example of pluralism in the intermountain schools helps to make the point. Many school districts have received Title I monies for extra education for minority children and have established "bilingual" programs. Generally these turn out to be twenty to thirty minutes a day teaching Spanish as a second language. Similar pluralistic efforts tend to be categorized as enrichment experiences rather than as central elements of the school's curricular efforts. It is, probably, more in tune with the perceptual reality of educators to argue that they see some pluralistic strategies as useful alternatives to accomplish the ends of compensatory education. That is, pluralistic programs becoming a vehicle whereby the students can more readily become assimilated.

The paucity of educators with a Chicano background would seem to support the notion that the schools see little reason to drastically change their conception of the Chicano child. In fact, the employment of Chicanos in professional education positions may be a key indicator of the degree to which the idea of sincere pluralism has been accepted by an educational system. If there is any validity in that point, then one may project that the probability of significant attitudinal change or the adoption of a different point of view about Chicano students seems to be incredibly low.

From our point of view that would indicate that any substantial improvement in the school performance of Chicano children will not come about because of changes in the schools. Hopefully, this assumption will prove to be wrong and dramatic reversals will transpire, but that would seem to depend upon a context of hope rather than fact. Since it is not anticipated that any such miraculous transformation will occur, it seems reasonable to encourage Chicanos to use every available technique to awaken educators to the fact that as the schools now operate they are programmed to fail for the majority of Chicano students.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The introductory chapter to this work discussed in some detail the purpose of this exploratory study into the social conditions of Chicanos. Prior to the presentation of a summation and concluding remarks it would be well to note the salient points made in that discussion. First, it was noted that almost all research on the Chicano characterizes them as the possessors of second class citizenship in this country. The nature of that citizenship includes at least the following: a) low educational attainment and achievement; b) high incidence of poverty; c) little political or social power; and d) minimal improvement by virtue of social service agency impact. Further, it was acknowledged that the research which generated such conclusions almost exclusively fell into one of two categories; anthropological studies conducted in isolated rural areas of the Southwest mostly completed prior to 1940, or studies conducted during the last twenty years in urban centers of the Southwest and California. In other geographic areas where the Chicano population is small we have little documented evidence of his social condition. Therefore, in such areas, discussions of his social need and/or strategies that agencies might use to meet it have been mostly a matter of speculation and guesswork. In an attempt to begin filling that information gap, this study examined the social condition of the Chicano in an area where he constituted a numerically minor portion of the general population.

The second major point made in introducing the study related to theoretical perspectives used to explain the social condition of the Chicano. Historically the social situation of the Chicano, as other ethnic minorities, has been analyzed in terms of an "assimilationist" perspective. This model argues that the social mainstream is open to any group that will adopt the behavioral

and value patterns of the socially dominant as its own. Given this assumption then, this model posits as an explanation of the Chicano's second class citizenship his unwillingness to accept the "American" way of life. That is to say, that this perspective explains the Chicanos exclusion as a product of their choosing not to belong and suggest this phenomenon is beyond the control of the dominant social group.

Recently, some social scientists have articulated a new heuristic perspective, internal colonialism, as an alternate definition of the Chicano's social situation. This model suggests, contrary to assimilation tenets, that the second class citizenship of Chicanos obtained as a result of colonial constraints imposed by the dominant social group. This explanation uses four sets of factors to identify the imposition of internal colonialism on an ethnic minority: 1) the minority group's mode of entry into the dominant society; 2) cultural impact, an altering of colonized people's institutions; 3) external administration; 4) racism. This point of view guided the thinking of the research efforts. Questions were generated to explore the social condition of the Chicano in terms of the model of internal colonialism. The remainder of this chapter reviews the findings on those questions in the context of internal colonialism factors.

MODE OF ENTRY

As noted earlier, the internal colonialism model stresses the point that colonized people have entered American society through a forced involuntary process. This appears to be a direct reference ot the enslavement of Black Africans in colonial America. It is obvious, in a pure sense, slavery does not apply as an explanation of the mode of entry of Chicanos in the Southwest or in the current research area. That does not mean, however, one can by simple definition exclude this factor as non-applicable in explaining the social condition of the Chicano.

Data from the community sample and from the school sample provide biographical information as to the points of origin of Chicanos prior to their entrance to the research area. The large majority of immigrants came to the research area from New Mexico, Colorado, and Mexico. It seems reasonably sure from the data on employment and education that they were not attracted or recruited to the area for involvement in the cultural mainstream. Data from these two samples do not, however, provide much useful insight into the reasons for entrance.

Fortunately, concurrent with the conduct of the project discussed in this work a documented history of the Chicano in the same research area was being conducted by the Center for the Study of the American West at the University of Utah. Information reported as a result of that historical effort allow for an extension of our understanding of the Chicano's mode of entry.

It may be taken as a fact that any real influence of the Chicano on the research area is a 20th Century phenomenon (Mexican American Documentation Project, 1973: 16). That means that the Chicano's situation in the research locale can not be explained as the result of being conquered by Anglo imperialists. Further, it means that the historical roots of the Chicano in the research area have a much more shallow extension than in the Southwest and California.

Stopping at this point could lead to the rejection of the mode of entry factor as useful in explaining the social condition of the Chicano. Further consideration of historical data would, however, encourage one against such a judgment. According to the Documentation Project (1973:27-37) most Chicanos came to the area in search of employment or were recruited for short term crisis employment. As an example, in 1912 four thousand Mexican and or Mexican Americans were imported by mining concerns in the state as strike breakers. It's clear that the mining companies exploited the high level of unemployment those people were suffering in other areas to use them for an immediate business need. The fact that most of the Chicanos became unemployed and left the area following the end of the strike speaks to the lack of any serious concern for their welfare by their employer.

Further examples of exploiting the Chicano into entering the area can be found in: 1) the use of migrant field hands for temporary farm work, and 2) the importation of Mexican Americans to do menial track labor on railroads during World War II when regular employees found more fruitful employment in defense industries. One point of the documented history pervades the findings; the mode of entry of Chicanos was almost exclusively a device by industrial concerns to draw upon a cheap labor market to fill the most menial of occupational categories.

The Documentation Project allows, also, for a connection between the mode of entry and racism. When an executive of a company employing imported Chicanos in stoop labor was asked why industries 'preferred' this group he replied, "They tend to their

own business and do not try to mix with the White race. Most of them spend their money as fast as they get it." (1973:88) It is quite clear that those Chicanos brought to the state were attractive in terms of the economic advantage they afforded employers and not because they would add to cultural or social development. It was common to refer to the imported laborers as "peons" and little, if any evidence, exists that any interest was held by the dominant group to change that conception.

As noted earlier, in the strict sense of slavery one can not make the argument that the Chicano experience in the research area fits the mode of entry factor of the internal colonial model. Nonetheless, it seems not imprudent to contend that the mode of entry conditions for this group were based upon the same exploitive mentality as slavery. That is, all evidence indicates that Chicanos were brought into the society to bear the most manual burdens at the cheapest rate and clearly were expected to play only a subservient role in the culture. If one is to choose whether this mode of entry holds more consistency with internal colonial or assimilation perspectives, both historical evidence and the findings of this study, which describe the current situation, strongly suggest the internal colonial explanation as most viable.

CULTURAL IMPACT

This factor in the internal colonial model describes the dominant group as forcing an alteration in the colonized peoples institutions. That is, the colonizing power carries out a policy which transforms or eradicates the ways of life of the colonized group. It would seem obvious that such a policy does not take the form of an official statement since it clearly contradicts the egalitarian spirit of our national idealogy. Nonetheless, any serious student understands that "real" policy obtains in behavioral manifestations not in official rhetorical statements. In that sense, the findings of this study suggest a substantial case may be made that the cultural impact factor is operative for the Chicano in the research area.

A review of some salient findings in the context of cultural impact help to illustrate the conclusion above. Earlier on in Chapter four it was noted that those who work on a daily basis with Chicanos are a relatively homogeneous group and that the undiversified nature seems reflected in their unified values and attitudes regarding explanations of Chicanos and the role of social service agencies. This collective point of view opts for an agency behavior or policy which stresses accommodation to prevailing social con-

ditions by Chicanos. It was further acknowledged that the longer personnel continued in the agency the more conservative the point of view toward Chicanos became. Both of these findings suggest that cultural diversity exhibited by clients should be discouraged. Implied in such a perspective is the notion that to reach a self-sufficient life style the client must cleanse himself of all divergent cultural habits.

Findings on Chicano school students may also be interpreted in terms of cultural impact. It has been consistently argued that the language used in a childs home strongly reflects the cultural habits he will manifest. In that case, the child from a home where the Spanish language has influence can be expected to behave in some manner differently than children from homes which exclusively use English. Our findings suggest that children from homes that have adopted English tend to perform at higher levels on standard measures of school performance than do students from homes influenced by Spanish. A review of the occupations of parents also lends credence to the case for an enforced social accommodation. The occupation and areas of residence of parents using only English indicate that opportunities for self-sufficiency increase with the elimination of the use of Spanish. Data from educators of Chicano children suggest that the pervasive point of view in the educational establishment is that Chicanos suffer a social pathology. If this is an accurate perception, it means educational leaders will pursue a policy to eliminate what they construe to be inferior cultural traits.

All of these findings could be interpreted simply as an attempt to help the client assimilate into the cultural mainstream. However, the findings indicate that such an assimilation has not transpired. Chapter three discussed in some detail that even where Chicanos have been able to meet the educational requirements for social betterment that they have been unable to move into that mainstream via occupational routes. If the end of purging a group's cultural identity is not truthful assimilation into total social participation, then colonial purposes become a more viable explanation for such practices by social service agencies. It seems clear that, if through such practices a dominant group can reduce the opportunity of collective solidarity in the minority group, then the chance of a challenge to their power seriously dissipates. It is probable that the public articulation of such a policy might seriously offend dominant group members. It may, as well, be true that they do

not consciously encourage such practices. In terms of effect, however, that is irrelevant. That is to say, that whether such practices exist through the intent or the ignorance of the dominant group does not in any way reduce or change the social damage done to Chicanos.

EXTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The internal colonial model stresses the fact that administration of the colonized is carried out by representatives of the dominant society. There is an experience by the colonized of being managed and manipulated by outsiders, with little, or no, self determination.

Findings related to this factor clearly point toward some empirical confirmation of an internal colonial experience in the research area. A discussion of the findings on agency personnel, Chapter Two, reported a bare minimum of Chicanos serving in any professional category. This means, for all practical purposes, that the Chicano has no opportunity to determine either stated or practicing policy. This translates into a situation which excludes Chicanos from a voice in the identification of needs for the Chicano community or any nomination of strategies to rectify those needs.

Similar findings were reported in the educational sector of the research area. As an example, only one Chicano could be identified as a member of a local school board in forty independent school districts. That means, at the policy making level, Chicanos constituted less than one half of one percent of the membership. Further it was noted that in school districts with Chicano students approximately one percent of the professional staff was Chicano. These findings take on added dimension when placed against the fact that more than four percent of the areas school students were Chicano and in one district twelve percent were Chicanos.

In terms of the administration of public service agencies and the public schools, the most general conclusion on Chicano involvement is that they are conspicuous by their absence. Two other findings add support to the notion that the Chicano life style is externally administered. First, the homogeneous quality of the surveyed agency personnel suggests an exclusion factor beyond the usual majority/minority dyad. It seems quite probable that, in the research area, religious affiliation as well as ethnic identity works against the Chicano's involvement in determining the path of his destiny. Second, the almost total absence of personnel able to com-

municate in Spanish presents a further obstacle to Chicano input at both the policy and practice levels.

The findings above seem to establish the fact of external administration in terms of membership in administrative positions. A second test of the external administration factor has to do with the effect on the colonized group. That is, do these externally administered institutions function, by intent or by default, to insure the clients marginal status in society, where control of his own destiny is not in his own hands. Chapter Three reported a rather dismal future for Chicanos who try to use society's mechanism for improved employment status. For those Chicanos requesting service for occupational betterment, the findings indicate an externally determined fate at the lower end of the employment spectrum. Further, those agencies officially charged with changing this situation appear, on the basis of data collected, inept in their mission. In fact, as reported in Chapter Five, it seems that these agencies encourage Chicanos to aspire to occupations which virtually ensure a continuation on the cycle of marginal employment.

Chapter Five concluded that agencies really work to keep clients in a secondary position and to further alienate Chicanos from the larger society. Such a conclusion is based upon several findings on how Chicano clients perceive those agencies designed to help them toward self sufficiency. The list below summarizes those perceptions:

Chicano clients view social service agencies as:

1. unfair in staff and organization,
2. self-serving and unconcerned with clients needs,
3. falsely committed to helping clients achieve self-sufficiency,
4. and suspect and unresponsive to client needs.

The effect of external administration may also be seen in the public schools. If one accepts the assumption, which may on the basis of some findings be questionable for Chicanos, that the schools serve to prepare students for a fruitful life in the cultural mainstream, then the findings on Chicanos school performance indicate that the next generation of Chicanos will, in the main, be destined for social marginality. Unless one can accept the thesis that Chicano students bring to school an inherent intellectual inferiority, the exceptionally low performance levels of Chicano

students must be taken as a measure of the schools ineffectiveness with this group.

The findings of this study on social service agencies, the schools, and clients just reviewed seem to strongly demonstrate the viability of the external administration factor's explanatory power for the Chicano in the research area. It may well be that these externally administered institutions dysfunction by default rather than intent. Nonetheless, as mentioned in the previous discussion on cultural impact, the reason for institutional ineptness does nothing to change the continued condition of social marginality for the Chicano.

RACISM

With the publication of the Report of the National Advisory Commision on Civil Disorders in 1968, the so called Kerner report, the American public was officially informed, by men considered to be the most reputable of investigators, that the United States is a racist society. This view, long held by those outside the mainstream of American politics, was not accepted as valid by men who would be least likely to want to come to this conclusion. The debate is over: Racial division in the United States can only be explained by taking into account the historical tradition of white racism. (Schwartz & Disch, 1970:1).

The statement above treats racism in the same sense as the internal colonial model. That is, as an endemic behavioral pattern in the institutional processes of a society. One should recognize that such a definition does not depend upon individualistic and overt manifestations of bigotry and hatred, but rather on a subtle and systematic exclusion from the cultural mainstream based upon a conception of an innate racial superiority in the dominant group. The official conclusions of the Kerner report, (supported by volumes of other social research), mean at least two things for the current study: 1) that the social institutions studied are inherently racist; and 2) that the behavior and policy of racism find their antecedents in the normative socialization of those in control of the institutions. That means that institutions are racist because they have always been racist and that the dominant group practices racism because they have been taught to behave that way.

One must understand racism in this institutionalized sense for interpreting the social condition of the Chicano in the research area. The racist idea then becomes the guiding principle or rea-

son for the findings reviewed under the other three factors of the internal colonial model.

Mexican American or Mexican immigrants, because they are inferior, can be exploited to fill immediate labor needs and then forgotten when the crisis is past. One can morally justify assigning a group of people to the menial burden of society without concern for their social welfare only if he accepts the principle of racism. If one accepts racism, then such behavior is not exploitive, but simply a routine matter consistent with the nature of things.

When the dominant group maintains administration of its institutions external to the minority group and uses that institutional power and control to coerce the minority to abdicate its cultural heritage, then the reason for such behavior determines its interpretation. If the end of such policy leads to self-sufficiency and absorption into the social mainstream, the purpose of the behavior is assimilation. The findings of this study seem to deny that assimilation is the sought after goal of the institutions studied. If the end of such policy leads to containment of the minority in a socially marginal position and perpetuates their systematic exclusion from the mainstream, then racism is operative. Given the conclusions of the Kerner Report, one could reasonably contend that in any geographic area studied in the United States this is a predictable conclusion. The findings in this study offer no evidence which might alter such a prediction. It is this pervasive racist thinking which logically denies the explanatory power of assimilation theory. In simple terms, if the institutions of a society are founded upon racism, they cannot be understood in terms of assimilation.

FINAL NOTE

The study discussed in this work had two purposes, one practical and the other theoretical. In a practical way the researchers asked, to what extent do the empirical descriptions of Chicanos in an area where they are a numerically small population parallel descriptions of Chicanos in areas where they constitute numerically large segments of the population. The findings of this study lead to a beginning conclusion, that a parallel social situation obtains. That is, as in almost all other empirical discussions, Chicanos in the research area could be characterized as a group as having low educational attainment and achievement, low economic subsistence,

little political or social power via any administrative control, and minimal improvements by virtue of social service agency impact.

In a theoretical vein, the researchers tested the empirical descriptions against the propositions of two explanatory models: internal colonialism and assimilation. In the context of the studies limitations, the findings suggest a more accurate explanation of social phenomenon for the Chicano can be made in the framework of internal colonialism than can be made with assimilationists' perspectives.

It should be remembered that either theoretical point of view attempts to explain what is behaviorally happening, not what should happen. To decide what should happen is a question of philosophy not empiricism. It does seem certain, however, that as long as the dominant in society build their philosophy on a racist foundation, little change in the empirical descriptions of the social condition of the Chicano will occur.

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